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ABSTRACT

The third unit to the first-semester course, "Comparing Political Experiences," provides 16 activities to help 12th-grade students acquire in-depth knowledge of various kinds of political activities, such as decision making, leadership, communication, and participation. The activities and readings are divided into six sections which stress the development of political knowledge, intellectual skills, and participation skills. Part 1 provides three activities to help students comprehend political activities and apply these concepts to the analysis of three case studies of political life in the United States. Part 2 focuses on the use of extant data to support or reject beliefs about patterns of political resources and activities. Part 3 develops the concepts of bureaucratic and participant political systems and requires students to use this knowledge in the analysis of a political system in India and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). Using the same case studies as part 3, section 4 examines how political activities affect political experiences. Part 5 examines elite, bureaucratic, coalitional, and participant political systems. Students study how resources and activities promote different types of experiences in each system. Section 6 explores alternative futures for each of the different political systems. Each section contains the necessary student materials and student discussion questions. (Author/DE)

ED120060

Comparing Political Experiences

POLITICAL SYSTEMS

Experimental Edition

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
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UNIT THREE

Participating in Political Activities

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EXPERIMENTAL
EDITION

MAR 02 1976

COMPARING POLITICAL EXPERIENCES

POLITICAL SYSTEMS

PARTICIPATING IN POLITICAL ACTIVITIES

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These experimental curriculum materials are part of a two-semester high school course, Comparing Political Experiences. The materials constitute one unit of one semester, Political Systems. The course is being developed by the High School Political Science Curriculum Project, which is one of the projects sponsored by the American Political Science Association's Committee on Pre-Collegiate Education. Development of these materials was supported in whole or in part by the National Science Foundation. Any opinions, findings, conclusions or recommendations expressed herein do not necessarily reflect the views of the National Science Foundation or of the copyright holder. These materials cannot be duplicated, reproduced or used in any manner without the specific written approval of the High School Political Science Curriculum Project.

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Many members of the High School Political Science Curriculum Project have contributed to the development of this unit.

Judith Gillespie, Howard Mehlinger and John Patrick co-direct the project. The Political Systems materials are being developed principally by Judith Gillespie and John Patrick. The Political Issues materials are being developed principally by Judith Gillespie and Stuart Lazarus. Howard Mehlinger and Stuart Lazarus co-direct the Comparing Political Experiences Diffusion Project. Toby Bonwit serves as a curriculum writer and editor for the project. Dave Lambert co-ordinates the formative evaluation and the work on the validation study. All instruments and analysis work to measure student achievement are being carried out by National Evaluation Systems, Amherst, Massachusetts. Martin Sampson administers and coordinates pilot school activities. Judith Gillespie and John Patrick are directly responsible for the materials developed in this unit.

Several instructional developers and artists have made important contributions to this unit. We would like to offer acknowledgements to each of them for their contributions:

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Bruce Smith:	Case material on Upper Valley High School in Part E

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We have also been demonstrably aided in our efforts to develop and test materials by ideas, critiques and site evaluations from our local field consultants. The field consultant network began as an effort to join university-based political scientists and social studies educators with each of the pilot schools. The success of the network has far exceeded our original expectations. The consultants have worked with the pilot schools and critiqued materials. Eight people are also engaged in providing case materials on schools to aid in the development of instructional units. The consultants are listed below. The asterisks refer to those individuals who are engaged in gathering case materials:

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All of these people have demonstrably influenced the way this unit had been developed. However, the responsibility for the ideas and approaches taken in the materials should not be attributed to the APSA Pre-Collegiate Committee, the National Science Foundation, the consultants or the pilot teachers. Although their contributions continue to be invaluable, responsibility for the ideas presented here rests with the authors.

Judith Gillespie
John Patrick

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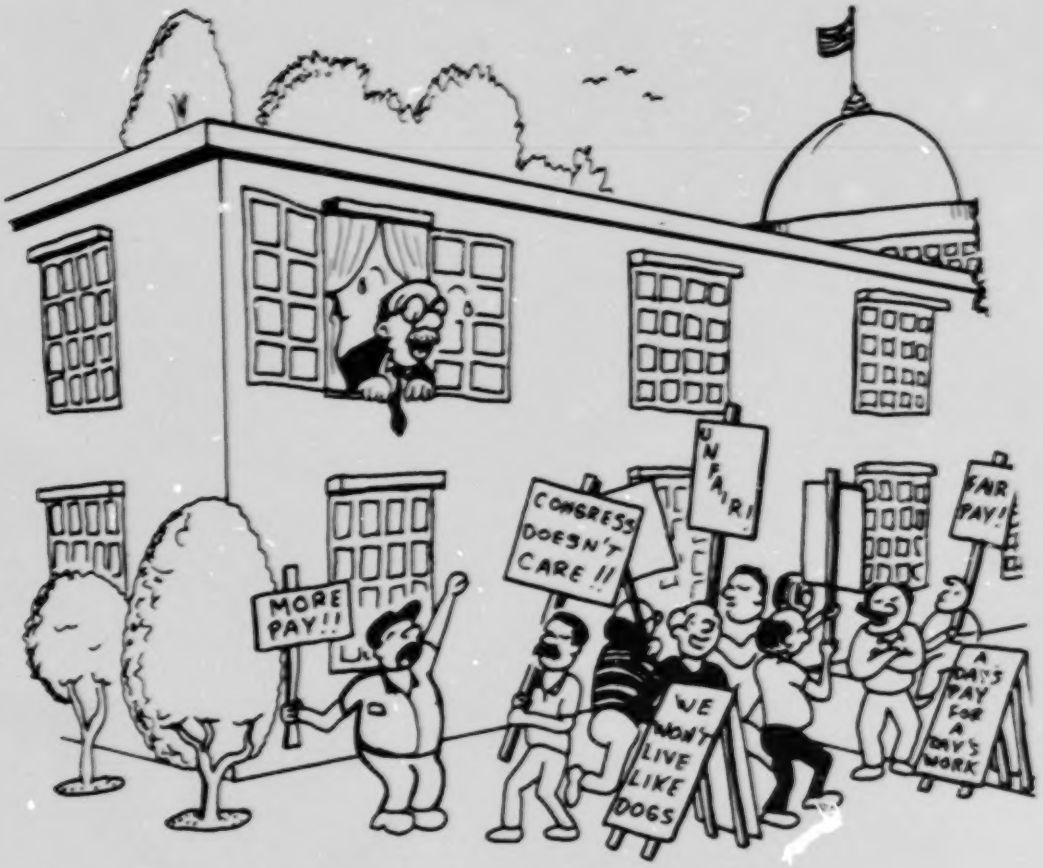
PART A: POLITICAL ACTIVITIES -- THE WAYS TO INFLUENCE THE DISTRIBUTION OF RESOURCES

As you have learned in preceding units of this course, political activities are what people do to influence the distribution of resources in a group. In this unit, you have an opportunity to study in detail various kinds of political activities. You can learn how political activities are used more or less effectively in different groups.



Activity A-1: What are Political Activities?

People can be active in politics in various ways. Consider these <u>six different</u> examples of political activities.

1

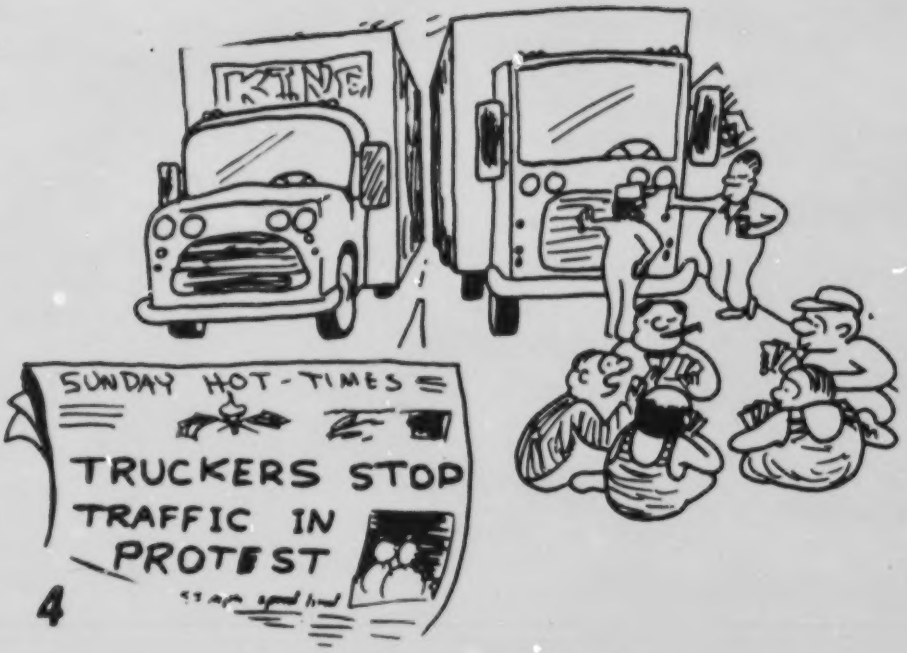
Why is this an example of political activity?

2 JWP

Why is this an example of political activity?

3 JWP

Why is this an example of political activity?



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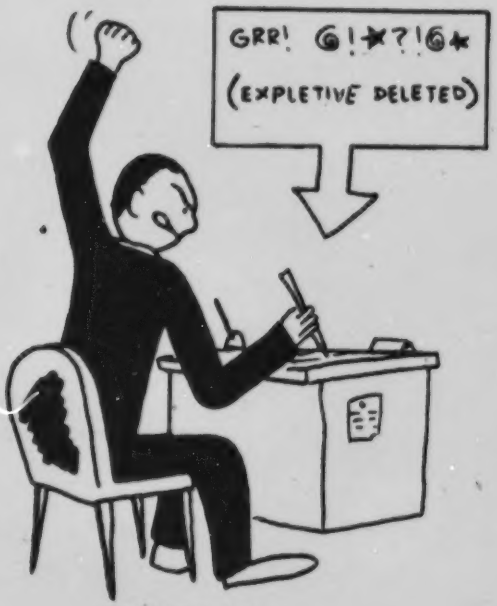
Why is this an example of political activity?



5. WRITING TO CONGRESSMAN

Why is this an example of political activity?

Can you think of other examples of political activities? Make a list of activities in the space below. Be prepared to tell why each item in your list is an example of a political activity.

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

4. _____

5. _____

6. _____

7. _____

8. _____

9. _____

10. _____

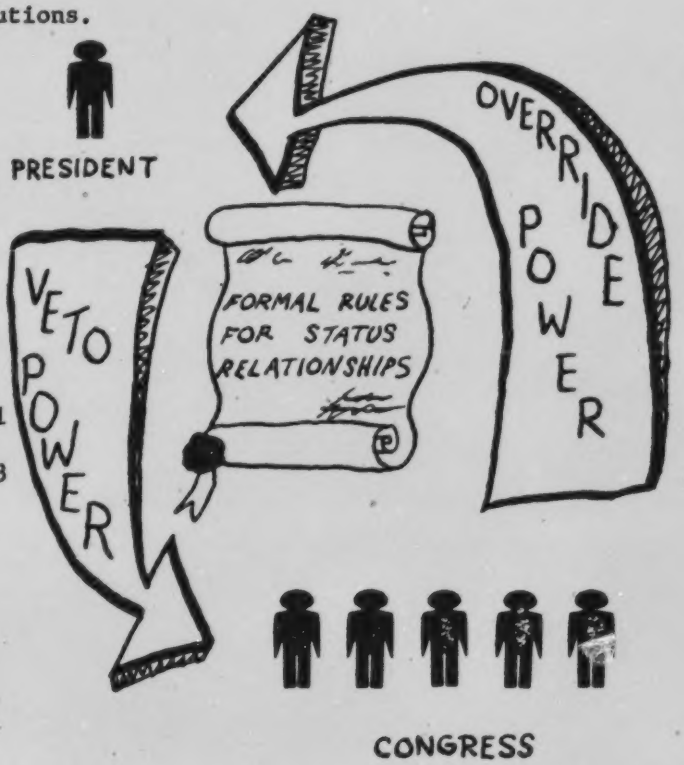
Activity A-2: Four Kinds of Political Activities:
Decision-making, Leadership, Participation, Communication

Four basic kinds of political activities are decision-making, leadership, participation, and communication.

Political Decision-making

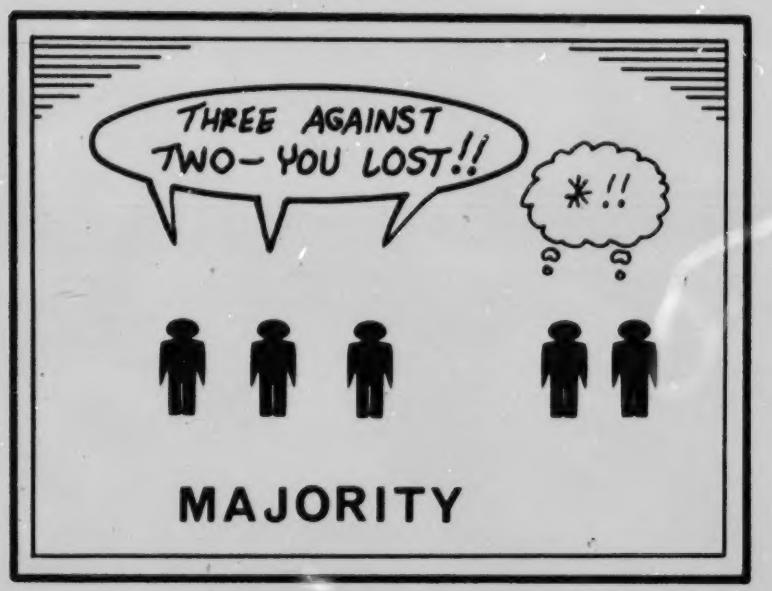
POLITICAL DECISION-MAKING is any activity through which choices are made, from two or more alternatives, about giving or withholding important things in a group. For example, in early July, 1975, a large majority of the U.S. Congress decided to vote for a bill to provide $5.3 billion for aid to elementary schools, high schools, and colleges. In order to become a law, this bill had to be signed by President Ford. However, on July 25, the President decided to veto (reject) this bill. He sent the bill back to the Congress without signing it. He explained that the bill provided more resources for schools than he thought it wise to give. In his opinion, some of these resources should be distributed to other groups and institutions.

The Congress reconsidered the bill and voted on it again. On September 10, a 2/3 majority of the members of Congress decided to pass the bill again. According to the Constitution, a 2/3 majority of Congress can override a presidential veto. Thus, the bill providing $5.3 billion for schools became a law.

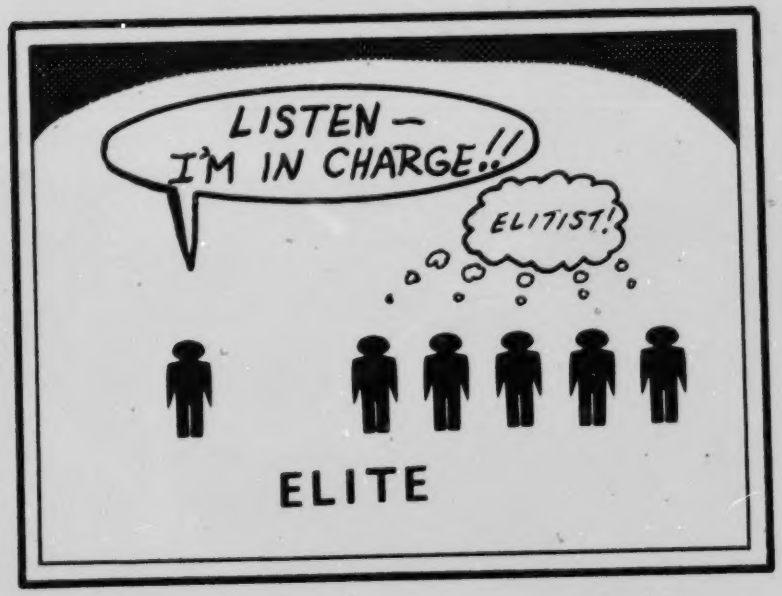


Different kinds of rules may influence the way decisions are made in different groups. A decision rule may be written down or just assumed. It may be the same for every decision, or it may be different for many decisions. In any case, a decision rule is one which indicates how much support an idea must have before a decision can be made. When everyone must agree to support an idea for a decision to be made, a consensus rule is operating. For example, in the Security Council of the United Nations each of the five permanent members of the council (the USA, the USSR, China, Great Britain, and France) must agree before a decision can be made. A consensus or unanimity rule is operating among the group of five permanent Security Council members.

In the U.S. Congress, a majority of the members must decide to vote "yes" in order to pass a bill. We can say that a majority rule for making decisions is operating in the Congress, since 50% + 1 must support a bill in order to pass it.

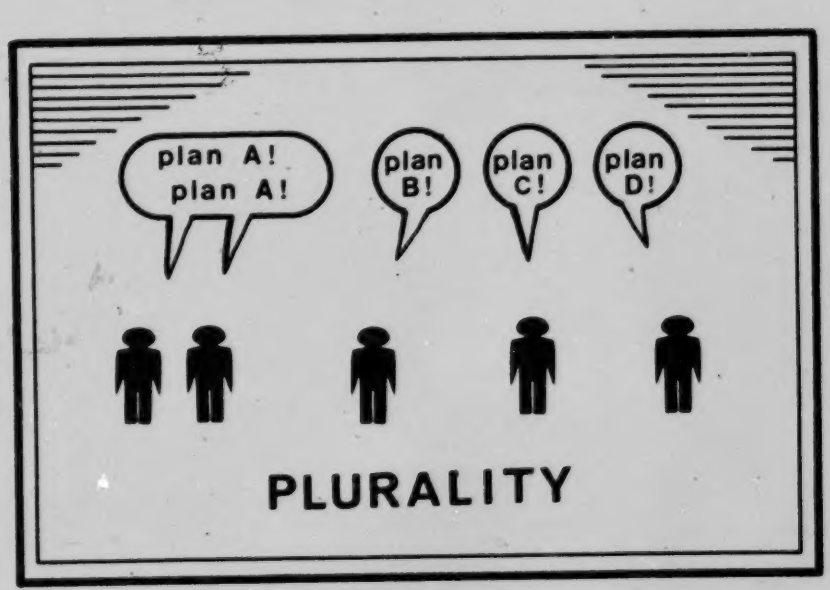


In some groups, there is an elite decision rule. That is, one person or a very small group controls the decision-making about the distribution of important things. For instance, Mayor Daley and his top assistants have tended to dominate decision-making in the Cook County, Illinois Democratic party organization.* They have tended to control the distribution of resources in this group. Thus, we can say that an elite decision rule operates in the group.



*See pages 114 to 135 of Unit Two, Using Political Resources, for discussion of political life in Chicago.

A plurality rule for making decisions is the norm in certain groups. That is, a sizeable minority of those in the group must agree before a decision can be made. For example, in elections for mayor in American cities, the candidate with the most votes wins the election. Sometimes the winner receives a majority (50% + 1). At other times, the winner is the candidate with a plurality of the votes (less than 50%, but more than the other candidates).



Identify each of the decision rules illustrated by the examples given below in items 1-5. Respond to items 1-5 in terms of the following key:

a. Elite Decision Rule

b. Plurality Decision Rule

c. Majority Decision Rule

d. Consensus Decision Rule

1. Everyone in the Science Club seemed to want to begin a different activity. Finally, three of the students wanted to hold a science fair. It was decided that more people wanted the fair than any other alternative, so people began to plan the fair.

2. The city council had been battling over the new superhighway construction for months. Finally, the mayor asked the group to postpone the decision for awhile until people could come up with some fresh ideas. Everyone thought this was a good idea, and the decision was postponed.

3. The President sat alone in his room. It was his decision and he knew the government would obey him. With a firm stride he walked into the government hall to announce his decision.

4. The Democratic representatives were caucusing again. Everyone knew this small group controlled the Congress. The fate of the new budget would be determined in this meeting.

5. It was tough getting people to agree to the proposed rules on smoking in the school, but finally more than 50% of the students were willing to use the new smoking lounge. Thus, a positive decision could be made about the smoking issue.

Read the following example and answer the questions which follow it.

Martin is a new member of the Boy's Service Club in his school. The members of the club usually defer to the club's sponsor, Mr. Richardson, when making decisions. Last year, every important decision in this club was made according to the preferences of Mr. Richardson. At present the club is faced with a decision about which projects the club should select during this school year. Martin wants the club members to devote many of their resources to conduct an anti-litter campaign and to help the school's maintenance staff to keep the school buildings and grounds as free of litter as possible. Martin decides to try to influence as many of the club members as possible to agree with his idea. He reasons that if a majority of the club are with him, then the club will decide to conduct an anti-litter campaign.

Jerome is against Martin's idea. He decides to spend his time trying to influence Mickey, the club president, and Mr. Richardson to oppose Martin's plan.

1. What is the rule for making decisions in this club?
2. What is your evaluation of the political strategies of Martin and Jerome?

Political Leadership

Leadership is another basic kind of political activity. LEADERSHIP refers to activities through which individuals and groups are mobilized to act together in pursuit of common objectives.

Consider the following two examples of leadership.

Example 1: The Principal's Message

Dr. Sam Goldsmith, the principal of Lincoln High School, walked forcefully to center-stage of the school's auditorium. He halted in front of the microphone and raised his hands. Silence blanketed the audience of students and teachers.

Dr. Goldsmith spoke slowly and powerfully:

> Littering in the hallways and school grounds must stop. Our corridors look like the bottoms of trash cans. Our front lawn looks like a garbage dump.
>
> I'm convinced that a small group of bad citizens is responsible for the litter. I believe that these bad actors must be treated harshly. Therefore, I've made a new school rule to stop litter-bugs. The punishment for first offenders will be one hour of detention after school for one week. The punishment for second offenders will be a one-week suspension from school. The punishment for third offenders will be prohibition from participation in sports and other student activities for one semester. Those who are fourth offenders will have to deal with me personally. I don't expect fourth offenders.

Dr. Goldsmith dismissed the group and walked vigorously off the stage. Less than a month after his speech, there was no litter-bug problem at Lincoln High.

Who are the leaders and followers in Example 1?

Example 2: The Main Member

Ruthie Shevshenko is energetic and bright. She's also the "main member" of the Curie High School Science Club. Ruthie is only a sophomore, so she's not an officer of the club. At Curie High, it is customary for juniors and seniors to hold the offices in student organizations. However, when Ruthie speaks, other club members listen, because she knows more about science than anyone in the school.

Currently, the Science Club is preparing exhibits for the state high school science fair. Ruthie was selected by the other club members to direct the preparation of the club's exhibits. Every day for the past two months, Ruthie has stayed after school at least two hours to organize and guide the work of other club members. Even the officers of the club follow her directions.

Who are the leaders and followers in Example 2?

In each of the preceding examples, there are leaders and followers. In Example 1. Dr. Goldsmith was able to "mobilize," or stimulate and channel, the energies of students and teachers to stop littering, and they responded.

In Example 2, Ruthie Shevshenko organized and directed the members of the science club to create exhibits for the state science fair. The club members responded enthusiastically to her direction.

As indicated in the two examples, leadership involves a relationship

between leaders (those who direct and control) and followers (those who are directed and controlled). Why are some people leaders while others are followers? What are the bases for leadership in the two preceding examples?

Why was Dr. Goldsmith able to be a leader in Example 1?

Why was Ruthie Shevshenko able to be a leader in Example 2?

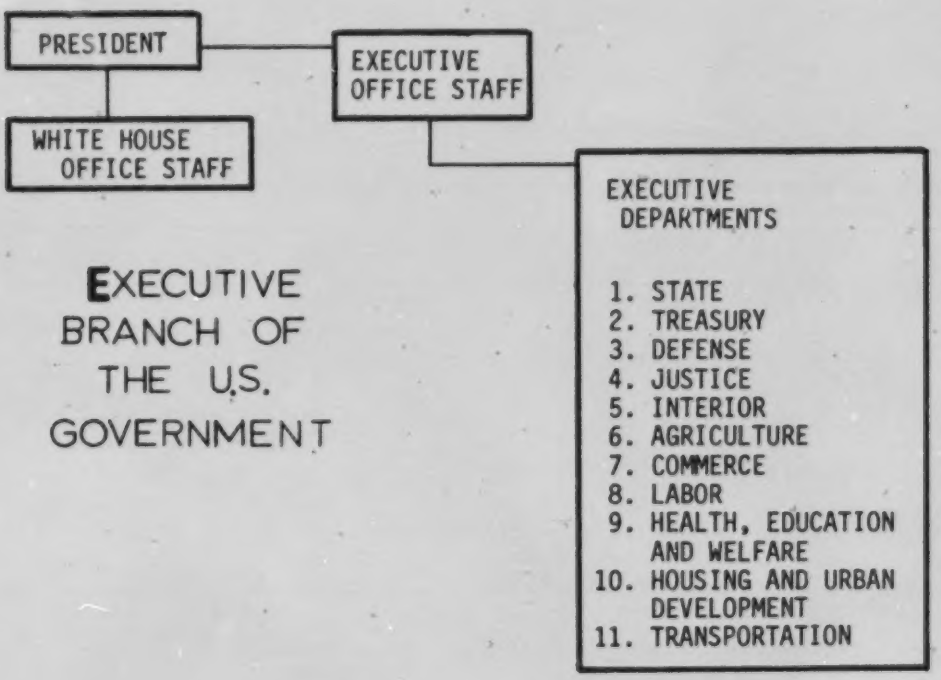
Laws as Bases of Leadership

One basis of leadership is law. For instance, city and state laws give the principal of Lincoln High School the right and duty to be a leader of teachers and students at Lincoln High. As long as Dr. Goldsmith is the principal, he has the right to act as a leader in the high school, because the law says so. Thus, teachers and students expect him to behave as a leader, and they expect to follow his leadership. We can say that Dr. Goldsmith has the authority, based in law, to act as a leader.

Another way to describe law as a basis of leadership is to say that there is a formal status relationship between leader and followers. For example, the Constitution, the basic law of the USA, gives the President the authority, or the right and the duty, to be the leader of those in the executive branch of the national government. Article II of the Constitution says:

> The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America . . .
>
> He may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices . . .
>
> He shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed.

The constitutional law creates formal status relationships between Presidents and those who work for them in the executive branch of the government. The following diagram shows various executive departments and offices, with thousands of workers, whom Presidents have the lawful right to lead in discharging their constitutional duties to carry-out and enforce national law. Department heads must report to the President, who as chief executive, is legally responsible for their political activities in the national government.



EXECUTIVE BRANCH OF THE U.S. GOVERNMENT

laws. However, Section 3 of Article II gives the President the legal basis to be a leader in setting the agenda, or schedule of topics, for Congressional consideration in law-making. Recent Presidents have used this section of the Constitution as the foundation of their efforts to influence the priorities of Congress and the direction of law-making. An additional basis for legislative leadership is the veto power described in Article I, Section 7, of the Constitution. Here the President is given power to reject bills passed by Congress in order to prevent them from becoming law. However, the Congress may choose not to follow the President's legislative messages and may override vetoes with a 2/3 vote.

Customs as Bases of Leadership

A custom is a commonly accepted way of doing something. For instance, it is a custom in the USA to stand at attention and face the flag when someone plays or sings the national anthem at a sporting event. There is no law that requires people to stand and face the flag, but we expect everyone to do it automatically.

Customs may be bases of leadership. They may provide leaders with authority. For instance, it is customary for spectators at high school basketball games to follow the cheerleaders in showing support for their team.

Another way to describe a custom as a basis of leadership is to say that there is an informal status relationship between the leader and followers. For example, the leadership of the President is based on customs (a basis for informal influence) as well as law (a basis for formal influence). It is customary for Americans to give extreme respect and honor to the person who occupies the position of President. Friends refer

The Constitution provides several other legal bases for presidential leadership of the national government. Section 2 of Article II says:

> The President shall be Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the Militia of the several states, when called into actual service of the United States . . .
>
> He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur . . .
>
> He shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint Ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, Judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States, whose Appointments are not herein otherwise provided for . . .

As indicated here, the commanding officers of the armed forces are ultimately reponsible to the President, and according to law, can be ordered about by him. The Constitution gives the President the power to lead the nation in foreign affairs; the President has the legal right to make treaties, or binding agreements, with representatives of other countries. The President's leadership is also grounded in legal power to appoint the other important leaders of the executive branch of the government.

Although Presidents are viewed mainly as executive leaders, the Constitution also gives them some leadership potential in law-making. Section 3 of Article II says:

> He shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient . . .

According to the Constitution, the Congress has the power to make

to "Mr. President" instead of Lyndon, or Dick, or Gerry as they did before election to the "highest office in the land." Members of Congress stand and applaud respectfully when the President appears before them to make a speech. Armed guards walk or ride near him wherever he goes. When the President chooses to speak to the nation, it is customary to interrupt all network television programs to transmit the leader's image and words across the country. Customs help the President to have authority in his dealings with followers.

The President can use informal status relationships to mobilize the people to support his actions. For example, Richard Nixon tried to transfer the public's customary respect for the Presidency to support for him during the "Watergate affair." Every President has appealed to the public's customary respect for the Presidency to mobilize support for his decisions during times of crisis, such as wars, or riots, or economic depressions.

The Authority-Based Leadership Pattern

In some political systems the pattern of political leadership is based on authority, which stems from the laws and customs of the system.* It is considered "right" that the leader should have a great amount of control over followers. However, to maintain control, the leader must conform to the rules of the group as fully as the followers do. Otherwise, the "right" or authority to lead can be lost.

Authoritative leadership involves an unequal resource distribution. The leaders are able to use their control of resources to mobilize the followers, who have fewer resources.

*See pages 117 to 118 for description of a political system model with a leadership pattern based on authority.

Authoritative leadership involves little reciprocity between leaders and followers. However, followers are able to make demands on leaders occasionally. Influence can be channeled from followers to leaders from time to time, especially demands that help to keep the leader-follower relationship within the rules of the group.

Dr. Goldsmith, the principal of Lincoln High School, practiced an authoritative leadership style in the example on pages 13 to 14. His authority over students was based on both law and custom. The students clearly expect him to give them firm, clear directions.

Students are ready to follow Dr. Goldsmith's orders (to see his orders as authoritative) as long as they are given within the rules of the high school. For instance Dr. Goldsmith has the authority to order students to go to the detention room as a punishment for breaking a school rule. However, he would not be able to order a student to the detention room merely because he doesn't like the student. Such an order would be considered outside the rules of the school and thus beyond the authority of the principal.

Control of Rewards and Punishments as a Basis of Leadership

Harry Truman, the 33rd President of the United States, described leadership as he practiced it: "You know what makes leadership? It is the ability to get men to men to do what they don't want to do and like it." The ability to dispense rewards and punishments effectively is a key "to get men (and women) to do what they don't want to do and like it."

In Example 1, the principal had the ability to punish those who violated school rules. He used this power to motivate students to follow his orders about obeying rules at Lincoln High.

The President of the USA uses control over rewards and punishments to mobilize followers. For example, upon entering the Presidency, a new President tends to reward those who supported him during his election campaign with government jobs or favors. Presidents typically give jobs as ambassadors to various foreign countries to rich people who have made large financial contributions to their election campaigns. When a new President enters office, there is a complete turnover of the White House staff as the followers of the outgoing President leave and the trusted supporters of the new leader arrive.

While in office, Presidents use control over rewards and punishments to motivate followers to help them achieve their objectives. For instance, Presidents typically reward Congressmen of their political party, who have supported their ideas in Congress, by campaigning for them when they face re-election. Presidents often try to prevent re-election of Congressmen who have opposed them.

Presidents may also try to reward loyal followers by influencing the awarding of federal contracts on projects to them or to their friends. For example, a loyal Senator, who has helped the President to push a bill through Congress, may be rewarded by having a federal public works project awarded to his state. Or an important businessman, who has helped to mobilize public opinion behind Presidential action, may be rewarded by receiving for his company a lucrative business contract to provide goods or services to the federal government.

A Leadership Pattern Based on Coercion

The leadership pattern in a group is related to the capabilities of followers. Some followers can be pushed around easily; others can

resist what they don't like. Some followers think about a leader's commands carefully before deciding whether or not to obey them; others follow thoughtlessly. Thus, to understand a leacership pattern, one must consider the capabilities of the followers and of the leaders in a group.

In the elite political system model, there is a coercive kind of political leadership.* The coercive leader completely dominates followers. Consider this example.

Boss Jones: How does it look for our guy in the 23rd ward?

Jack Lewis: It'll be a close race. I think our man'll win.

Boss Jones: You'd better make sure he wins, or I'll find someone else to run the show for the 23rd ward. So get with it, if you want to keep your job.

Jack Lewis: Yes sir, Boss!

Boss Jones: And you tell those precinct workers of yours that I want results. I want them to hustle like never before to turn out the votes for our candidate. Tell 'em that if our candidate loses in the 23rd that they'll all lose one way or another. Have you got my message Lewis?

Jack Lewis: By the way, Boss, I've collected over $25,000 in my ward from that raffle we're running. That ought to help our campaign fund.

Boss Jones: Good boy, Lewis. Now that's really good news. How many tickets has Harvey bought?

Jack Lewis: A "C" note's worth.

Boss Jones: That's not enough. You tell him that unless he kicks in $200 more, I'll not reappoint his son to that soft job on the Water Works Board.

Jack Lewis: Okay, Boss, I'll pass the word.

---

*See pages 109-113 of Unit Two for discussion of the elite political system model.

How is the "boss" able to dominate his followers so completely? The resource distribution among the followers provides an answer. If political resources are distributed very unequally, then one, or a few, at the top are in a position to coerce, or force, others to obey them all the time. Followers do not have the ability to resist or to compete for leadership positions.

Coercive leaders control most of the important resources in a group: knowledge, skills, jobs, money. The coercive leaders are able to manipulate the distribution of rewards and punishments. Those who obey readily are rewarded while those who resist can be punished severely.

The coercive leadership style involves little reciprocity in the one-sided relationships between the leaders and followers. Followers respond passively and thoughtlessly as they are mobilized to achieve objectives imposed by the leaders. The followers have few political resources with which to resist what they don't like -- this is the basis of the overwhelming control of the coercive leader.

Knowledge and Skills as Bases of Leadership

Knowledge and skills that are important to the success of a group can be bases of leadership of a group. Group members who need particular knowledge or skills to achieve their objectives are willing to look for direction from the person who has the valuable knowledge or skills.

In Example 2, Ruthie's leadership of the Science Club was based on her superior knowledge of science. She was the group's key to the preparation of successful science projects for the state science fair. The group's need for her knowledge was Ruthie's basis of leadership of the group.

Knowledge and skills are important bases of Presidential leadership. Lyndon Johnson, the 36th President of the United States, was well aware of this fundamental facet of his role as chief executive of the national government. Upon entering office in 1963, he said: "Every President has to establish . . . what I call 'the right to govern'." Just being elected to the office does not guarantee him that right. Every President has to inspire the confidence of the people. Every President has to become a leader."

Most Presidents may begin their term in office with roughly the same potential for effective leadership. However, some Presidents have led more effectively than others. Some Presidents have had the skill of using effectively the abilities of those who work for them; others have lacked the ability to inspire subordinates to work effectively to achieve common objectives.

Perhaps no President in this century has commanded the allegiance of followers more effectively than Franklin Roosevelt, our 33rd President. He won election to the Presidency four times -- an unprecedented achievement.* He also initiated numerous reforms which changed fundamentally the role of the national government in American life. Some important people tried to thwart Roosevelt's leadership, but they were unable to prevent him from mobilizing the massess of people behind him.

Roosevelt was a master at influencing public opinion to support his moves. He believed strongly in a fundamental principle of Presidential leadership: The President must inspire public confidence and support in order to lead. President Abraham Lincoln said it this way: "Public

*The 22nd Amendment to the Constitution, ratified in 1951, prohibits a person from being elected to the Presidency for more than two terms of office.

opinion is everything . . . with it nothing can fail. Without it nothing can succeed."

Two recent presidents, Richard Nixon and Lyndon Johnson, lost their ability to lead when they lost their ability to inspire public confidence. Johnson's unskillful handling of the Vietnam war led to his decision to retire from the Presidency at the end of his first elected term in office. Nixon's poor judgment in regard to the "Watergate affair" led to his unprecedented resignation from office before the end of his second term. In both cases, strong, capable men, who had been skillful leaders, lost their ability to mobilize others. They became occupants of leadership postitions without the ability to lead.

The Merit-Based Leadership Pattern

In some political systems, the pattern of political leadership is based on merit.* The leader has special skills and knowledge which the group needs.

The merit-based leader is the exact opposite of the coercive leader. Merit-based leaders must show that they have some special resource that is needed by others in order for the group to reach a common objective. Thus, leadership in a situation is based on merit, some special talent or knowledge of the leader, not on force.

The example on pages 14 to 15 , about Ruthie Shevshenko's leadership of the Science Club, is a good example of a merit-based leadership style. Ruthie's leadership was based on her expert knowledge and skills in science.

*See pages 116 to 117 for description of a political system model with a leadership pattern based on merit.

During the period of time that the Science Club is preparing exhibits for the state science fair, Ruthie can play a leadership role. Through her leadership, she can help the group to achieve common objectives.

However, Ruthie may not play a leadership role in other activities of the Science Club. She is not a officer of the club. When the club members are interested in other objectives, they can turn to other people, who have relevant knowledge or skills, for leadership.

In a group which practices merit-based leadership, there is very much reciprocity between leaders and followers who are able to influence one another. Followers have the capability to make demands on leaders and to resist or replace leaders who don't have the ability to help the group to achieve its objectives.

In a system with a merit-based leadership pattern, political resources are distributed rather widely. Different individuals can take turns playing the roles of leaders and followers. Leadership often shifts with the situation. No one has the power to be leader all the time. Those who lead do so by full consent of their followers.

Followers have important responsibilities in a group which uses merit-based leadership. Followers must be able to interact with leaders to set and achieve objectives. They must be able to express their needs clearly, to take part in decision-making, to contribute to the enforcement of decisions. If followers can't assume these responsibilities, then a merit-based leadership style can't be used effectively.

The Advocative Leadership Pattern

In the coalitional political system model, there is an advocative

pattern of political leadership.* The advocative leader is supposed to be able to represent common interests of followers. The extent to which the leader can represent (or advocate) their interests effectively is the extent to which followers will go along with the leader. Leadership is based on ability to advocate goals that followers want to achieve. Consider the following example.

> Linda Martin is the president of the Civic Action Group (CAG) in her community. The main objective of the group is to be vigilant observers and critics of public officials so as to limit waste and inefficiency in the city government. At the moment Ms. Martin is leading a campaign to block an increase in property taxes. She has organized an alliance between the CAG and twelve other community groups who agree with CAG's objective of "holding the line" on property taxes.
>
> This is the fourth time in two years that the CAG has built a coalition of community organizations to oppose the plans of city officials. Last year, the President of CAG was Jeff Myers. As the leader of CAG, he mobilized numerous civic organizations to stop a proposed reorganization of the school district.
>
> Various groups have been willing to follow the leadership of the CAG, because the CAG has been able to advocate successfully goals that these groups have wanted to achieve.

The advocative leadership style requires the formation of alliances of people with common goals. In order to lead, an individual or group has to make a bargain with others to form a coalition of people. Together the people in the coalition have enough strength to achieve some objectives that they hold in common. Separately, it is not likely that they could achieve anything, which is why they would join the coalition.

The leader of a coalition is expected to represent the common interests of everyone in the coalition. If this does not happen, then either

*See pages 79-95 in Unit one for discussion of the coalitional political system model.

a new leader will emerge or the coalition will fall apart.

There is much reciprocity between leaders and followers. Leaders must be able to build faith among followers in their ability to lead the coalition to achieve common objectives. Otherwise, they don't continue as leaders. Followers are able to make demands on leaders and to depose leaders who are incompetent.

Following is a series of examples of Presidential activity. Write an "L" in the blank next to each item which is an example of leadership activity. In addition, indicate in the blank under each item the bases of leadership. Select one or more of the following bases of leadership:

F -- Formal Status Relationship (Law)

I -- Informal Status Relationship (Custom)

CRP -- Control of Rewards or Punishments

KS -- Knowledge or Skills

_____ 1. The President vetoes a bill passed by Congress in an effort to show Congressmen and the public what his legislative preferences are and to persuade them to support him.

Bases of leadership activity: _____

_____ 2. The President makes a nationally televised speech to persuade the public that he has made a wise decision.

Bases of leadership activity: _____

_____ 3. The President threatens to campaign against a Congresswoman in her up-coming bid for re-election unless the Congresswoman promises to support a pending bill in Congress that the President favors.

Bases of leadership activity: _____

_____ 4. The President orders the national guard to put down a riot in one of the big cities of our country. The troops go there and carry out the President's order.

Bases of leadership activity: _____

_____ 5. The President entertains the leader of a foreign country at a White House dinner.

Bases of leadership activity: _____

_____ 6. The President makes a phone call to the locker room of the winning team in the NFL Super Bowl.

Bases of leadership activity: _____

_____ 7. The President tells a Senator that in return for support in helping to push a bill through Congress, he will see that a federal dam building project will be awarded to his state.

Bases of leadership activity: _____

Items 1-3 below pertain to the following case. Read the case and answer the questions that follow it.

Roosevelt High School has had a long tradition of strong, dominant leadership. The students and teachers have been mostly passive followers with very little political knowledge or skills. Leaders dominated followers by controlling their rewards and punishments. This year Dr. Ross, a new principal, has come to Roosevelt. He has a strong belief in participatory democracy. One of his first moves after taking the principal's job was to announce the creation of a School Council, which would make all the basic political decisions in the school. The School Council was to include students, teachers, and administrators. Student representatives would be in the majority and decisions would be made by majority rule. Dr. Ross also proclaimed that the need for competent participation by all students would be built into the new democratic way of running Roosevelt High School.

1. What type of leadership pattern existed at Roosevelt before Dr. Ross became principal?

_____ a. Coercion-Based

_____ b. Advocacy

_____ c. Merit-Based

_____ d. Authority-Based

2. Which of the following statements is the best description of how Dr. Ross wants to change the political life of Roosevelt High? (You may check one answer or more than one answer.)

_____ a. He wants to decrease the reciprocity between leaders and followers.

_____ b. He wants to make the distribution of political resources in the school more equal.

_____ c. He wants to become a coercive leader.

3. Do you think Dr. Ross' reforms are likely to be successful in the short run?

_____ Yes

_____ No

Why? _____

_____

_____

Political Communication

POLITICAL COMMUNICATION is the transmission or exchange of ideas or information that affects the distribution of resources in a group. Through political communication, some people try to influence other people's views of events and issues in order to achieve a political goal. For example, a citizen might write a letter to her representative in Congress which urges that the representative vote to make a law providing more money for public schools in her state. Writing and sending this letter is a political activity, since the letter writer is trying to influence the distribution of resources. Another citizen might write a letter to the same Congressman, which is not an example of political communication. This letter might contain information about a social event that the letter writer thinks would be interesting to the Congressman.

An essential feature of communication (political or otherwise) is the interaction between the sender and receiver of messages. Remember that unless someone takes notice of a message, communication has only been attempted -- it has not been achieved. A listener may respond favorably to a spoken message. Or the listener might choose to do exactly the opposite of what the sender of the message wants. Or the listener might decide to forget about the message. But unless someone has taken notice of the message, communication has not occured.

One way to look at political communication is from the bottom to the top -- from the perspective of followers who are trying to influence the government.

In the United States, different interest groups are regularly sending

messages to government leaders to influence their decisions. For example, interest groups such as the Sierra Club or Common Cause sometimes "bombard" public officials with letters that advocate the interest group's point of view about some public issue or problem.

A few people can communicate their views directly to governmental leaders. Money is the political resource that often is the key to direct contact with the top leaders. In his recent book, In Common Cause, John Gardner describes how a rich businessman (whose company contributed $400,000 to help finance the 1972 Republican Party National Convention) could communicate his political needs directly to the President or several Republican senators whenever he wanted to.*

Most people do not have the resources to enable direct communication with top political leaders. They have to join others with common interests and express their views together through some kind of organized group activity, such as a letter writing campaign.

The Common Cause organization uses a "telephone alert" system to generate letters to public officials about an issue. For instance, suppose a bill is pending in Congress about some topic in which Common Cause is interested, such as the financing of election campaigns. Common Cause workers in all parts of the country will telephone hundreds of Common Cause members of supporters and ask them to write letters to their representatives in Congress in support of the Common Cause position on the financing of campaigns. Through this "telephone alert" technique, Common Cause members and supporters are informed about what they can do

*John Gardner, In Common Cause, New York: W.W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1972, p.55.

to help the group reach an objective. The technique has been very successful.*

The petition is another technique used by interest groups to communicate their views to government leaders. The interest group will write their demands, or pleas, and try to get as many people as possible to sign their names to their petition. Then the interest group will send the petition to public officials whom they want to influence. During the Vietman War, many anti-war groups sent petitions with thousands of names on them to the President and to Congressmen. Those who supported the war also used petitions to express their views to government leaders.

Massive public demonstrations and rallies can be a means of political communication. During the 1960's many black civil rights organizations expressed their views to government officials through marches and rallies. The largest and most publicized civil rights demonstration was the famous "March on Washington" of August 28, 1963. Several civil rights leaders, led by Martin Luther King Jr., brought almost 250,000 people to the nation's capitol to voice support for the passage of a new civil righrs law. The demands of the civil rights groups were communicated through speeches, petitions, and through their actions as protestors making demands on the government.

Interest groups often organiza activities, such as the civil rights "March on Washington," in order to "make news" that will be reported on the front pages of newspapers and via television news programs. Sometimes interest group leaders will arrange a "press conference" where

*See pages 50 to 55 for a description of the Common Cause organization.

they can comuunicate their ideas to news reporters. Interest group leaders also prepare "press releases" to send to news reporters in the hope that their views will reach the front pages of the daily newspapers. By "making news" about themselves, interest groups can communicate their ideas both to public officials and to the general public. In this way, they hope to win support for their ideas.

Election campaigns are an important means of communication between the public and their elected political leaders. During these campaigns, candidates communicate their ideas to the public for the purpose of winning votes. Interest groups communicate their ideas to the candidates in the hope of exchanging their promise of votes for a candidate's public promise of helping them to achieve some of their political objectives.

Public opinion polls are another important vehicle of political communication between leaders and followers. A properly done public opinion poll is an example of survey research, which you learned about in Unit Two.

Through polls, the masses of people can voice their beliefs about what the government should do in particular situations. For example, public opinion polls reported in daily newspapers were one very important means of telling both Presidents Johnson and Nixon how much the public opposed the Vietnam War. Without the reporting of these public opinion polls, it might have been easier to dismiss anti-war arguments as the misguided ideas of a few "peaceniks," rather than the massive outpouring of mainstream American feelings. The political communication represented by these polls was an important factor in influencing President Nixon to withdraw American armed forces from the war.

President Nixon was also influenced, in part, by public opinion polls when he decided to initiate diplomatic relationships with the People's Republic of China. Before he made this decision, Nixon noted that several polls had shown that a majority of Americans wanted to build better relationships with China.

Public opinion polls are very important sources of political communications during elections. Through polling reports, candidates can find out how the voters feel about them and their ideas before the "official poll" is taken on election day. This gives them an opportunity to make adjustments in their campaigns in order to win necessary support.

Public opinion polls are a means for continued communication between the masses of voters and their elected officials between elections. Through polls, the views of the general public can be expressed on the important issues of the day. Public officials may choose to disagree with public opinion and to try to change it. But since the invention of scientific polling, they have not been able to easily ignore public opinion.

A second way to look at political communication is from the top to the bottom -- from the perspective of government leaders, who consider what and how to communicate with the masses of followers in a large political system.

In the United States, public opinion can serve as a <u>limiter</u> or as a <u>booster</u> to the political actions of government leaders. The chief government leaders need the cooperation of others to accomplish goals. When the opinions of the majority are clearly with the leaders, they can act more decisively and freely. When the opinions of the majority are clearly against them, leaders may choose not to take particular

actions, or to act more cautiously.

The mass media of communication (television, radio, newspapers, etc.) are the vehicle for information exchange between leaders and followers. Governmental leaders use the media to transmit news about new laws to rally public supoort for them and to make the details of the regulations known to as many people as possible. For example, new income tax regulations are communicated to the people through massive media campaigns. In order to comply with the rules, the people need to know about them. The mass media of communication have been a mighty tool for mobilizing compliance with the law.

The major issues of the political system are expressed via the mass media, which enables interested individuals to gain relevant information about the views of others and to transmit their own views. Thus, government leaders study the media to find indicators of public opinion that are relevant to their political plans or actions.

Presidents have tended to use the media to try to rally wupport for their decisions. For example, on August 15, 1971, President Nixon announced a 90-day freeze on wages and prices in order to stop a steady decline in the buying power of the dollar. When Nixon made the decision, he was fearful that many people might dislike it. Thus, he tried to communicate to the people as persuasively as possible his reasons for ordering a temporary halt to wage and price increases.

In a Labor Day speech, the President said that the purpose of his decision was to help the United States reach a "goal we have rarely been able to achieve in the past 40 years -- a new prosperity without war and without inflation." The President promised that his decision would help

to improve the country so that America could continue to be "number one" in the world rather than "resigning ourselves to being number two or number three or even number four."

After several days of using the press, television, and radio to communicate his reasons for the wage-price freeze decision, Nixon found evidence of his success in rallying support behind his decision. A public opinion poll reported that public approval of his ability to handle economic affairs rose from 32% to 47%.

Presidents have tended to try to make what they thought was the "best" decision to cope with a particular problem. If the public at first was not with them, they would try to build support for the decision already made by appealing to the people through the mass media.

The following table presents evidence about the ability of President Johnson and Nixon to rally support for potentially unpopular decisions. Notice that in the case of two decisions, the majority opposed the action before it was taken. But in each case, after the President made the decision, he was able to persuade a majority to support him.

Public Approval of Decisions

Decision	Approval of Proposed Decision	Approval of Decision Already Made
1. To Halt Bombing (Johnson, 1968)	40%	64%
2. To Invade Cambodia (Nixon, 1970)	28%	50%

However, popular opinion can sometimes be impervious to Presidential persuasion, as both Johnson and Nixon learned before leaving the Presidency. Although both Johnson and Nixon could be master persuaders through

the mass media, they both were forced from office by an aroused public opinion mobilized through the media by Presidential opponents.

The majority can indeed affect public policy when they become concerned enough to make their views known through the communications media. Usually, however, the public is like the proverbial "sleeping dog" who, when aroused, can be a mighty creature, but who usually is disinterested.

Read the following examples and place a checkmark next to the examples of political communication.

_____ 1. The Mayor of Creekville makes a speech to an American Legion picnic on July 4th in which she urges the American Legion members to campaign against "amnesty" for deserters from the armed forces during the Vietnam War. The audience responds enthusiastically.

_____ 2. Mr. Smith is watching a basketball game on his television set. During a time out a two minute television advertisement is shown which tells him that he should vote for Barker for Senator if he wants to "hold the line against an increase in the cost of living." During the political advertisement Mr. Smith goes to the kitchen to make a sandwich.

_____ 3. Ms. Gardner watches Illie Nastase play Jimmy Connors in a televised tennis match.

_____ 4. Mr. Green writes a letter to the newspaper in which he praises a recent editorial that argued for granting "amnesty" to deserters from the armed forces during the Vietnam War.

_____ 5. Mr. Bancroft and Mr. Bixby spent last Saturday afternoon "stuffing" envelopes with letters to citizens urging them to vote for Mary Hardy for State Senator.

_____ 6. Mr. Harvey is reading an article about Greek foods and recipes in the magazine section of the Sunday newspaper.

Consider the following six examples of political activity.

1. What might be written in picture 1 to make this picture an example of political communication?

2. What might be written in picture 2 to make this picture an example of political communication?

3. What might be written in picture 3 to make this picture an example of political communication?

4. What might be written in picture 4 to make this picture an example of political communication?

5. What might be written in picture 5 to make this picture an example of political communication?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

6. What might be written in picture 6 to make this picture an example of political communication?

_____

_____

_____

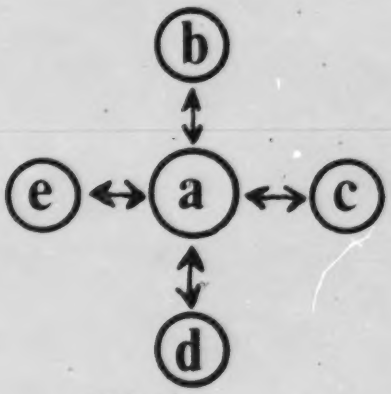
_____

_____

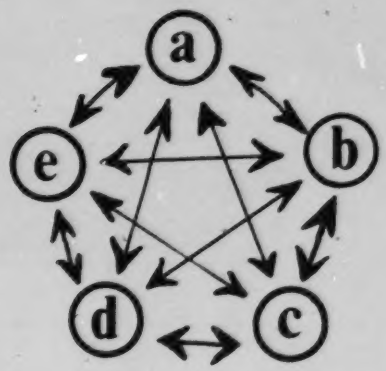
Patterns of Political Communication

The flow of political communication in a system is affected by the positions of the communicators. Consider the two very different networks of communication in the following diagrams.

network 1



network 2



As you've undoubtedly noticed, the communications pattern in Network I is very different from the pattern in Network II.

Network I shows the pattern of communication in an elite political system model. Person A is bound to be the dominant individual. All the communication in the network is channeled through this individual. Thus, person A has much more information than any other person in the system, which is a very valuabe political resource. Person A is also in a position to determine how much information others in the system will receive, since all messages flow through person A. None of the others can communicate directly. They can only exchange information through person A, who can choose to pass on the messages or not to pass them on. Obviously, there is little reciprocity in the political communications of the members of Network I. To some extent, individuals can try singly

to influence person A. But person A is in a strong position to influence everyone in the system.

Network II is the exact opposite of Network I. One person cannot be dominant. This network permits rather free exchanges of information among the members of the system. In Network II, there is reciprocity in the information exchanges. In contrast to Network I, Network II is de-centralized, as no member of the group is in a better position than any other member to send or receive messages.

When making comparisons in the political communications of different groups, you should use these two categories: (1) centralization and (2) reciprocity.

Centralization refers to the extent to which messages are sent and received through one source. Network I is very centralized. All messages are channeled through person A. In contrast, Network II is de-centralized. There are several ways to send and receive messages. All people are involved in the channeling of information.

When comparing communication in different political systems, you should try to determine whether the systems feature more or less centralization in the transmission and exchange of information.

Reciprocity refers to the extent to which there is the opportunity to affect or persuade others through communication. In network I, there is very little reciprocity. Only person A has very much opportunity to influence others through communication. In network II, there is very much reciprocity. Every person in the group has the same opportunity to influence others through communication.

A high degree of centralization is related to a low degree of reciprocity. This is the way it is in Network I. In contrast, a low

degree of centralization is related to a high degree of reciprocity, as in Network II.

When comparing communication in different political systems, you should try to determine whether the systems feature more or less reciprocity.

Those with more political resources are likely to be able to be more involved in the sending and receiving of political communication and a low degree of reciprocity, most people have few political resources. Those who dominate the political communications flow in systems such as Network I also control most of the other resources in the system.

In contrast, in communications networks where there is a low degree of centralization and a high degree of reciprocity, most people have many political resources. This is the way it is in Network II.

1. Which person is likely to have more control over the information communicated to other members of the group in Network I?

_____ Person A

_____ Person B

_____ Person D

_____ Person E

_____ No one member is likely to have more control

_____ Uncertain

Why? _____

_____

_____

2. Which person is likely to have more control over the information communicated to other members of the group in Network II?

_____ Person A

_____ Person B

_____ Person C

_____ Person D

_____ Person E

_____ No one member is likely to have more control

_____ Uncertain

Why? _____

_____

_____

Read this case and answer the questions which follow it.

Two schools in this city are struggling with the question of money for girls' athletics. I visited those schools recently -- Riley High and Central -- and talked with students, coaches and administrators. Here is what I found.

In both schools girls are demanding that more funds be allocated to their programs, that they have equal access to facilities and that they receive a greater share of publicity in school and city newspapers. But the similarities stop there.

At Riley, the students seem to lack political knowledge and skills. They want to make changes, but don't seem to know how to do it. They have difficulty deciding which tactics to use. And they aren't able to organize and present their demands effectively. At Riley the girls tried working through the student council but to little avail. Then

they circulated a petition and obtained a large number of signatures. The petition was presented to the principal but no word has yet come down from the administration. I talked to the principal at Riley who said that he will "make a decision in due course but that he must consider many factors." Meanwhile the girls wait.

At Central High the situation is very different. The students seem to know how to participate effectively. In particular, they are very skilled organizers of political activities. A small group of activists has disrupted almost every major sports event for the last month with banners and shouted slogans. Even cheerleaders have been brought into the movement and have led some highly unorthodox cheers for equal rights. It's all been done with a certain amount of good humor so no one is too upset but it's clear that the girls are serious in their purposes. And almost everyone seems to feel that they'll win out. The principal at Central said, "Change doesn't happen in this school when the principal says it's O.K. Change happens when almost everyone in the place -- students, teachers and administration -- agrees that it ought to happen. So groups who want something don't go to the principal, they take their case to the whole school. Later on I have to make it official but that's just a formality."

Riley High and Central High. Two schools struggling with a common issue in very different ways.

1. Is there more or less centralization in political communication At Riley or at Central?

_____ a. There is more centralization at Riley than at Central.

_____ b. There is less centralization at Riley than at Central.

_____ c. There is little difference between Riley and Central in the centralization of political communication.

2. Is there more or less reciprocity in political communication at Riley or at Central?

_____ a. There is more reciprocity at Riley than at Central.

_____ b. There is less reciprocity at Riley than at Central.

_____ c. There is little difference between Riley and Central in the reciprocity in political communications.

Political Participation

PARTICIPATION refers to activities through which interests are organized in a political system. Members of the Sierra Club are involved in political participation. The members have joined this club, because they all have a common interest, which is to protect and preserve the natural environment. They have organized a group, The Sierra Club, to express their common interest in conserving natural resources and to achieve political objectives related to their shared interest.

Members of the Bituminous Coal Operators of America (BCOA) are also involved in political participation. The members of this group have banded together, because they have a shared interest, which is to promote the use of coal and to increase the profits that can be earned from mining and selling coal. They have organized an interest group, the BCOA, to more effectively voice their shared interest in the coal industry and achieve political objectives related to their shared interest.

During the past few years, the different interests of the Sierra Club and the BCOA have been in conflict. The Sierra Club members have acted to influence the government to pass new laws which would strictly regulate and limit the strip-mining of coal. The BCOA Association members have participated in opposing the Sierra Club proposals.

There are many interest groups in the political system of the USA. These interest groups try to influence government in one way or another. For example, labor unions, such as the United Steelworkers, try to achieve benefits for the manual workers in steel mills. The National Urban League represents the interest of black city dwellers. The National Organization

U.S. MAIL
U.S. MAIL
COAL-NO!
COAL YES!
Daily Dirt
COAL NO!
COAL YES!
DIRT

of Women (NOW) is one of several groups which claim to represent the interests of females. The American Bar Association advocates the interests of lawyers. The list of special interest group in the USA is long and varied.

The right of these interest groups to try to influence government is based on custom and law. Organizing groups to cooperatively solve common problems has been an American tradition. In addition, the "right to petition" clause of the First Amendment to the Constitution gives legal protection to those who want to organize interest groups.

A new and most unusual interest group in the USA is Common Cause, which claims to stand for the public interest, the general good, rather than the special interests, or particular good of any part of the whole society.

What examples of political participation can you find in the following description of the Common Cause organization? Why do you think people take part in an organization such as Common Cause? Why has Common Cause been successful so far in pursuing its political goals?

Participation in the Common Cause

John Gardner, the founder and Chairman of Common Cause describes the group's purposes as follows:

> Common Cause is a national citizen's lobby. We will lobby in the public interest at all levels of government . . .
>
> Fortunately, there are many Americans who would like to help rebuild this nation. But they don't know where or how to begin . . .
>
> Common Cause will help those citizens discover what they can do as individuals.

Since its beginnings in 1970, Common Cause has become a very big organization (over 300,000 members) with financial resources. The group spent 5½ million dollars in 1973 on various political activities. Common Cause includes many members with much political knowledge and skill. It has the resources to organize interests effectively.

The leaders of Common Cause aim to provide the masses of citizens with greater access to public officials. John Gardner believes that "all citizens should have equal access to decision-making processes of government, but money makes some citizens more equal than others." Gardner claims that rich businessmen, who make large contributions to support the election campaigns of public officials, can have access to

Common Cause wins the big one

When John Gardner, a former cabinet officer and educator, founded Common Cause in 1970 as a people's lobby, beholden to no political party and interested only in influencing government to the common good, critics scoffed.

Some of them thought it would be just another [illegible] ation, issuing [illegible]

public's right to know how campaign funds have been collected and distributed.

Long before Watergate exploded into its present scandalous proportions, Common Cause was in court seeking to force disclosure of huge [illegible]tribution[illegible] which had [illegible]

these officials whenever they want to. However, most ordinary citizens, who can't afford to contribute large sums of money to help elect government officials, have little or no access to these public officials.

Gardner says that the mass of common citizens cannot compete individually with the few very wealthy people. But he claims, they can pool their resources to collectively compete in the political arena, to do together what each could not do alone. As Gardner says, "citizen opinion, massively expressed, is a form of power; and politicians are power brokers." Common Cause is supposed to be a vehicle for the massive expression of citizen opinion, a way for the "little person" to make the government hear his complaints.

Common Cause includes three main types of members: (1) the small paid staff of professionals who work full-time for the organization, (2) a large group of very active members, and (3) a still larger group of supportive, but not very active, members.

The small staff of paid professionals are the full-time leaders of Common Cause. They do the administrative work; they define the issues and objectives of the group; they publish a newsletter, Report From Washington, to keep members informed about Common Cause activities; they work as lobbyists to represent the group's interests to public officials.

The Common Cause lobbyists maintain regular pressure on public officials to try to influence them. However, the very active Common Cause members, who are not part of the organization's staff, are important to the work of the lobbyists. These active members help the lobbyists by writing letters to public officials, by writing letters to newspapers to inform the public of Common Cause objectives, activities, and accom-

plishments, and by organizing and sending petitions to public officials in support of the Common Cause positions.

John Gardner summed up the value of this activity when he said: "One of the most inspiring sentences in the English language to a Common Cause lobbyist calling at a Congressional office is 'We've heard from your members on that issue'."

The many Common Cause members who do not have time to be very active are still very helpful in supporter roles. Every one of them contributes at least $15 a year in dues to Common Cause. Many contribute larger sums of money. These members also regularly communicate their views to the Common Cause leaders about what the objectives of the group ought to be. In this way, the leaders of the group are able to identify and represent the common interests of the members.

In its very short existence, Common Cause has had a few significant achievements. One of the first accomplishments was lobbying for passage of the Employment and Training Opportunities Act in the Senate in 1970. Senator Gaylord Nelson reported that "Common Cause played an absolutely crucial role" in the passing of this bill.

In late 1970, Common Cause pushed for the passing of a campaign-financing reform bill, but President Nixon vetoed the bill. The group stayed with this objective, however, and in 1972, Common Cause influenced the passing of a new campaign spending law. John Gardner and other Common Cause leaders are still not satisfied with the new campaign spending reform, so the group is working now to influence the passage of a stronger, improved bill. This activity is an example of two important principles of participation practiced by Common Cause: (1) they focus their activity

State financing proposed
Campaign law revision is aim of Colorado Common Cause
N.J. Common Cause Questions Candidates
Common Cause Seeks Disclosure Of Denver
Bond Promoters
Common Cause Opposes State Tax Limitation Plan
Common Cause To Ask Florida Delegates To Act
Common Cause Backs Ohio Effort for Election Reform
Common Cause Pleased
Common cause checks campaign finances for County Executive
Common Cause Blasts Assembly

on a few, rather than many, objectives and (2) they sustain their activity until an objective is either clearly won or lost.

Another operating principle of Common Cause is to join forces, in short term alliances, with other organizations seeking the same objectives. Thus, Common Cause was one of several groups in a coalition that put pressure on Congress to defeat plans to build supersonic aircrafts. Many

very rich and influential businessmen wanted the government to support the building of SST's or supersonic transports. However, Common Cause, in alliance with several other groups, expressed the belief that supersonic aircrafts would seriously hurt the environment. The anti-SST coalition defeated the money and "clout" of the businessmen with the organized voices of masses of people.

Common Cause also was part of the coalition of organizations that lobbied for the constitutional amendment giving the vote to eighteen-year-olds.

Common Cause continues to seek the achievement of objectives in the public interest. Chairman John Gardner continues to believe that voting in public elections, while important, is not enough to achieve good government. Rather, citizens must be active between elections to keep the pressure on so that elected officials will be forced to make good on their campaign pledges. As John Gardner says: "Common Cause, by linking the long tradition of citizen action with the skills of professional lobbying, is introducing a new ingredient into the political system, a means of assuring continuous accountability to the citizen -- a means of voting between elections."

Common Cause has made an impressive beginning in its efforts to be a citizen's lobby. Whether or not it will be successful in the long-run remains to be seen. Nonetheless, it is the kind of organization that fits the American tradition of organized expressions of interests.

Patterns of Political Participation

There are different patterns of political participation in different political systems. In an elite type of political system most people tend not to be involved voluntarily as political participants. That is, they tend not to be involved in activities through which they vigorously try to influence decision-makers to distribute resources to them.

In an elite political system most people tend to participate in ways that support those who control the distribution of resources in the system. They are coerced, or forced, to be involved in political activities which help those with power to maintain their power.

In the coalitional type of political system, people tend to try to influence political decision-makers through interest groups. Various interest groups form alliances in order to try to achieve common objectives. In this type of system, participation tends to be both widespread and voluntary. That is, many people are able to form one or more groups in order to organize their interests and to make demands on decision-makers.

67

I'VE HAD ENOUGH! I'M GONNA CONTRIBUTE MY $5,000 TO THE OPPOSITION NEXT ELECTION!!
TAX RAISE
10¢! THAT'S A GOOD ONE!
TAX RAISE
THE TIMES 10¢

The political resources of participants help us to understand the relationships between leaders and followers in groups. Some followers can be pushed around easily; others can resist what they don't like. Some followers think about a leader's commands carefully before deciding whether or not to obey them; others follow thoughtlessly.

Attempts to impose commands are likely to be resisted in a group where resources are widely distributed, where followers have high levels of political competence, and where there is a tradition of active involvement of followers in political affairs. In contrast, leaders who invite and depend upon effective political involvement of followers, where the followers lack political competencies, are doomed to frustration.

Meaningful involvement in politics requires political resources. There is likely to be more meaningful (effective) participation in systems

where resources are distributed most widely among different groups. In contrast, there is likely to be very little meaningful (effective) participation in systems where most resources are held by a few people.

The distribution of political resources is related to patterns of political participation in a system. For example, in the elite type of political system, most people have few political resources. Thus, they lack the means to participate extensively except as thoughtless supporters of the interests of the few leaders who run the system or as passive observers of political events.

In contrast, in the coalitional type of political system, resources are distributed more extensively across different groups. Thus, many groups can participate extensively to organize their interests. These groups are capable of using a wide range of participation tactics in order to achieve political objectives. Thus, many individuals and groups can be involved extensively and effectively in various political roles.

Those with few resources are not in a position to participate extensively or effectively. However, those with ample resources may decide not to participate. One reason is lack of interest. Many people believe that they gain more satisfaction by using their resources in non-political pursuits.

Lack of participation, except as supporters or observers, may also mean that people are satisfied with the way things are, that they see no reason to spend time, energy, and money on trying to advocate or organize alternatives to the way it is.

People may choose to use their resources in active political participation when they see a connection between their self-interest and participation. They may feel that to fail to participate could mean

failure to achieve some important benefit. Or it could mean failure to avoid some awful punishment. Those who relate active political participation to the gaining of rewards of the avoidance of punishment are likely to use their resources in pursuit of political goals.

Refer to the case on page and answer these questions about the case.

1. Which of the following statements describes the political participation patterns at Riley and Central?

___ a. At Riley the participation pattern seems to fit an elite system model.

___ b. At Central the participation pattern seems to fit an elite system model.

___ c. Neither of the schools has a participation pattern that fits an elite system model.

2. Is there more or less reciprocity between the leader (principal) and the followers (students) at Riley or Central?

___ a. There is more reciprocity at Riley than at Central.

___ b. There is less reciprocity at Riley than at Central.

___ c. There is little difference between Riley and Central in the reciprocity of the leader and followers.

Playing A Facilitator Role

The facilitator plays an important role in any group. A facilitator serves as a "peace-maker" in a group, who tries to settle conflicts within the group so that the group can make decisions and carry out its work. A facilitator tries to help people to understand others, points of view and to keep the group members working together in harmony.

Here are the main characteristics associated with successful performance of the facilitator role.

FACILITATOR ROLE

A successful facilitator:

1. Restates and interprets others' positions on issues
2. Attempts to find a compromise position or solution to conflicting points of view.
3. Demonstrates no vested interest in any single solution.

Read the following case, which poses a problem for a group. Try to solve the problem through a role play activity which your teacher will assign to you.

Cutting The Pie

The School Council at Upper Valley High faced a serious problem -- how to allocate fairly an unexpectedly small student activities fund. Usually the fund was about $3,400, which was to be shared among the various school clubs, e.g. Drama Club, Rifle Club, Math Club, etc. However, Mr. McGutherie, the principal, announced the the Council that

the Board of Education had slashed the school budget. Only $1,200 would be available for student activities at Upper-Valley High.

Following Mr. McGutherie's announcement, a murmur of disappointment rippled through the Council. Several members were hostile. "The Student Activities Fund was small enough before," they cried! "How does the School Board expect us to 'cut the pie' fairly when there's such a small amount to pass around?"

Finally, a student, Judith Riley, said, "Look we've got to deal with the problem -- just being angry isn't going to help. I recommend that we appoint a subcommittee to figure out the different actions we might take. Then, when the Council meets next Monday, we can discuss the possibilities and pick one."

Although Judith was a freshman, the other members quickly accepted her idea and selected a subcommittee. Typically, the Council accepted a good idea no matter who made it. Not only was Judith's idea sound, but she presented it skillfully, a valuable ability in persuading other Council members.

The Council approved the appointment of a subcommittee to study the problem of how to allocate the limited amount of money in the budget. The Council expected the subcommittee to make a recommendation, (by majority vote of the subcommittee members) upon which the Council might vote.

Following are the Council members appointed to the subcommittee.

1. Judith Riley, Chairperson
2. Howie Lunsford
3. George Blake
4. Susan Carter
5. Ken Kahn

6. Martina Grant
7. Barry Roth
8. Ann Fowler
9. Esther Feldman

Judith Riley called a meeting of the subcommittee. She started the meeting by asking the subcommittee members to suggest alternative recommendations about how the Council should proceed when trying to decide how to allocate the $1,200 in the student activities budget. Following are four alternatives which were presented during the meeting.

Alternative One: Provide one representative from each club with an opportunity to tell the Council how much of the $1,200 his/her club needs and why. After hearing these requests, the Council could decide how to allocate the money. In this way, every club would have an equal opportunity.

Alternative Two: The Council could decide to give most of the money to the clubs with the most members and which have been most active in the past. This would be the fairest way to distribute the limited funds.

Alternative Three: The Council should give each club the same percentage of the reduced budget that the club would have had of the expected larger budget. For example, if a club expected to receive 5% of the expected amount of $3,400, then this club should get 5% of the reduced amount of $1,200. This would be the fairest way to proceed.

Which of these alternatives should the subcommittee recommend to the Council? Should they recommend some other alternative that has not been suggested?

Your teacher will assign nine members of your class to play the roles of subcommittee members. The role players are to decide, as a subcommittee, what recommendation to make to the School Council about how to allocate the resources in the budget.

Each participant in the role play activity will receive a role card telling him/her how to play the role. Those not selected to play roles in the committee meeting are to act as observers.

Following the role play activity, your teacher will conduct a discussion about what you observed and learned from this lesson.

Activity A-3: Three Cases of Political Activities in the USA

Following are three case studies of political activities in the United States political system. Case One is about President Johnson's exercise of leadership regarding the Vietnam War. The second case is about the interaction of President Nixon with the public concerning an issue about meat prices, the third case is about the activities of conservation groups to change federal government plans to build an airport.

Read these three cases and answer the questions at the end of the cases. Apply your knowledge of four kinds of political activities -- decision-making, leadership, communication, and participation -- to your analysis of these three cases.

Case One: The Scope of Presidential Leadership

In the United States, the President is expected to be a strong, dynamic leader. As President John F. Kennedy said upon taking office in 1961, " . . . our President must above all be the chief executive in every sense of the word."

However, to lead effectively, the President must understand and respect the limitations as well as the powers of his office. To disregard the limitations is to forfeit the power, to lose the right to lead.

If laws and customs are keys to Presidential power and leadership, they also impose limitations on the chief executive. While granting enormous authority to the President, the Constitution also encircles the Presidential office with checks. See Diagram 1 for some examples of legal limits on the scope of Presidential leadership.

Diagram 1: Legal Checks on Presidential Leadership

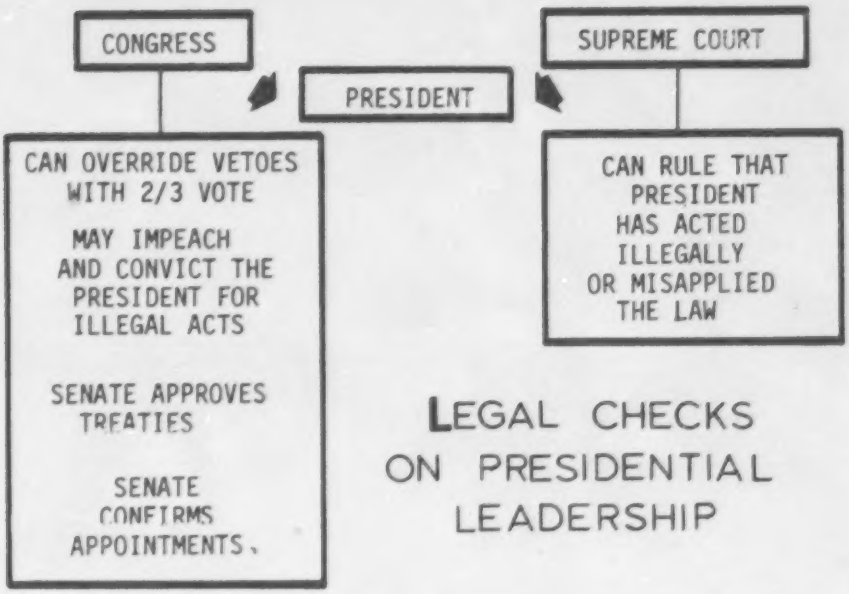
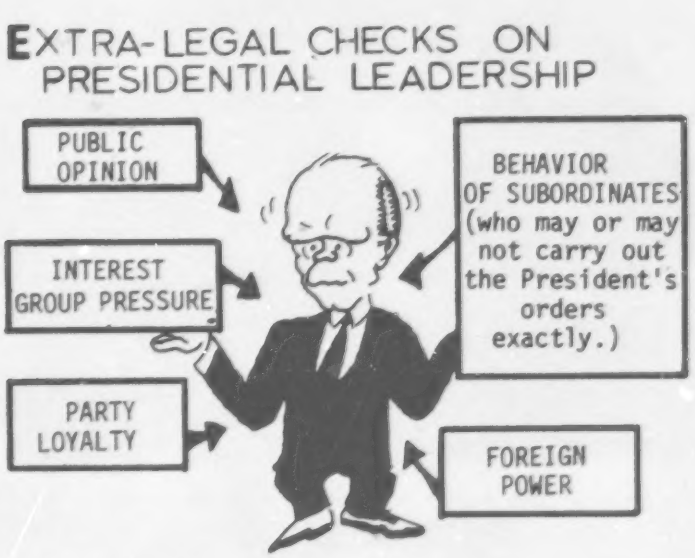

CONGRESS
PRESIDENT
SUPREME COURT
CAN OVERRIDE VETOES WITH 2/3 VOTE
MAY IMPEACH AND CONVICT THE PRESIDENT FOR ILLEGAL ACTS
SENATE APPROVES TREATIES
SENATE CONFIRMS APPOINTMENTS.
CAN RULE THAT PRESIDENT HAS ACTED ILLEGALLY OR MISAPPLIED THE LAW
LEGAL CHECKS ON PRESIDENTIAL LEADERSHIP

Diagram 2 shows examples of limitations on the scope of presidential leadership which stem from sources other than laws.

Diagram 2: Extra-Legal Checks on Presidential Leadership


EXTRA-LEGAL CHECKS ON PRESIDENTIAL LEADERSHIP
PUBLIC OPINION
INTEREST GROUP PRESSURE
PARTY LOYALTY
BEHAVIOR OF SUBORDINATES (who may or may not carry out the President's orders exactly.)
FOREIGN POWER

Law, customs, and realities of the political resources distribution among the people require the President to seek public approval for his actions. According to law and custom, the President is the representative of all the people, and he is expected to rule by and for them. The extensive distribution of political resources among different groups guarantees that many people will be active, thoughtful followers, who are quite capable of advocating their special interests to their political leaders. The President cannot depend upon one or two minority groups to support his leadership. Rather, he must build coalitions of several different minority groups in order to create majority support for his moves.

Skill in finding common ground on which to build a coalition of different, often competing groups, is perhaps the most important key to effective leadership. Franklin Roosevelt's great Presidential achievements were based on his ability to build the enduring Democratic party coalition of white manual workers, blacks, and intellectuals. Lyndon Johnson's ultimate failure as an effective Presidential leader stemmed from his inability to retain the support of the "Democratic coalition" due to his incompetent handling of the Vietnam war issue.

No other American President started a term in office with more potential for effective leadership than did Lyndon Johnson in 1964. He had blitzed the Republican challenger, Barry Goldwater, with the largest landslide victory in Presidential history.* Johnson carried all but six states while winning 61% of the popular vote, the greatest percentage

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*President Nixon outdid Johnson's victory in his smashing defeat of the Democratic party challenger, George McGovern, who only carried one state, Massachusetts.

ever attained in an American Presidential election. Thus, he began his term with massive popular support.

An additional basis of Johnson's leadership potential was his enormous political skill. As the former majority leader of the Senate, he had earned his reputation of "master politician." He was the great builder of coalitions, the leader who could get conflicting groups "to reason together" and find the common ground on which they could stand to pursue common objectives.

During the first few months after his smashing electoral victory, Johnson performed as expected. He alternatively pushed and cajoled Congressmen to pass important laws. Due to Johnson leadership, the first laws in our history were passed to provide federal aid to public schools and medical care for the aged. A voting rights law was passed to protect the freedom of black people in the southern states to vote and to run for public office. Laws were passed to provide money to rebuild the blighted areas of cities and to offer opportunities to poor people.

The public responded to Johnson's impressive performance with massive support. In February, 1965, 71% of the respondents in a Lou Harris poll gave him a high rating. Leaders of labor unions, civil rights organizations, and educational organizations applauded his moves. Editorials in newspapers praised him. Beyond any doubt, Lyndon Johnson had made the people believe in him as their leader. And then came his fateful decisions about military involvement in Vietnam, which transformed the Johnson Presidency into a disaster.

In 1964, there were about 25,000 American military men in South Vietnam. They had been sent by Presidents Eisenhower and Kennedy to advise

the South Vietnamese army in its conflict with the Viet Cong rebels, Communist guerrilla fighters who were trying to overthrow the government of South Vietnam. Johnson decided to escalate U.S. involvement in the conflict. Thus, 500,000 American soldiers were sent to Vietnam in 1965 to fight a war between the USA and the North Vietnamese army, which had been sent south to help the Viet Cong rebels.

A brief naval skirmish in the Gulf of Tonkin, near the North Vietnamese coast, prompted the first heavy American military action. On August 2, 1965 North Vietnamese gunboats attacked an American destroyer. President Johnson responded with a series of heavy air raids against North Vietnam.

On August 4, Johnson spoke to the nation via television to mobilize support for his actions. He said that the air raids were a "positive reply" to communist aggression, but promised that "we still seek no wider war."

Both the public and Congress gave strong support to the President's moves. A Lou Harris poll reported that over 80% of the public backed Johnson's decision to bomb North Vietnam. The Congress, following Johnson's wishes, passed a resolution giving the President the right "to take all necessary measures to repel any armed attack against the forces of the United States and to prevent future aggression."

Johnson seized this moment of popular enthusiasm for his bombing decision to send more than 100,000 additional troops to South Vietnam. From this point, Johnson gradually increased American military involvement in the Vietnam war.

However, the war went badly. American soldiers seemed to be engaged in a "no win war," in which more and more resources and men were

consumed. Too much money was used to conduct the war; there was not enough left to carry-out Johnson's educational and social reforms.

The public grew disenchanted with Johnson's management of the war. Nevertheless, the President plunged ahead with renewed vigor to defeat the enemy.

Johnson's stubborn prosecution of the Vietnam war led to a "credibility gap" between the leader and his followers. The public remembered his anti-war messages during the 1964 election campaign. On September 25, 1964, in a speech at Eufala, Oklahoma, Johnson declared: "We didn't want our American boys to do the fighting for Asian boys . . . and get tied down in a land war in Asia." On September 28 in Manchester, New Hampshire, he said: "We are not going north and drop bombs at this stage of the game, and we are not going south and run out . . . We are going . . . to try to get them to try to save their own freedom with their own men." When they matched the President's words with his subsequent deeds, the people lost faith in their President.

Americans turned massively from the leader they had elected in 1964 by the greatest margin in history. Near the end of 1967, a Harris poll reported that only 23% of the people believed he was doing a good job. His handling of the Vietnam war had transformed Johnson into one of the most unpopular Presidents in American history.

The coalition of groups that had supported Johnson's leadership in creating new social reforms deserted him over the war issue. He had become that most pathetic of figures, a person who is supposed to lead, who wants to lead, but who cannot attract followers. On March 31, 1968, a weary President Johnson announced that he would not seek re-election,

and that he would use his remaining time in office to seek peace. The next day Tom Wicker, of the New York Times, wrote a fitting summary of Johnson's decline. "The overriding cause for Lyndone Johnson', decline from the peaks of 1964 and 1965 is the war in Vietnam -- too confidently entered upon, too little understood, too costly for any gain he could make men see, too complex either to win or to end by the kind of direct and straightforward action that Americans favor."

Case Two: The Meat Boycott

People who get hurt usually communicate their feelings of pain to anyone who'll listen. In 1973, many Americans were being hurt severely by the rapidly rising cost of food. Their cries of pain reached the White House. The people demanded that President Nixon do something to limit the upward spiral of food prices. They were especially concerned about the cost of meat, which had become too expensive for many to buy regularly.

Nixon responded by urging store owners to try to hold down their prices. But he did nothing to legally force them to "hold the line" on price increase. Despite his recommendations to store owners, food prices continued to rise.

Consumers quit pleading for help and started to organize to make demands. Four women in Southern California united housewives in the area and urged them to stop buying meat on Tuesday's and Thursday's of every week. The group, Fighting Inflation Together (FIT), felt that if housewives all over the Southern California area stopped buying meat, the supply of meat would increase and the price would begin to decline. By focusing their efforts on specific days of the week FIT hoped to have a major impact in reducing meat prices.

By the middle of March, FIT had succeeded in unifying many housewives in Southern California to their cause. Their efforts were reported on the national television news broadcasts in both the United States and Canada. June Donavan, FIT's organizer, described other means by which the group spread their message about boycotting meat. "We have passed out 18,000 letters and the recipients have mimeographed them in turn. So we now have thousands and thousands of persons in this."

As people learned of FIT's effort, through the mass media and the letter writing campaign, other protest groups formed around the country. The All People's Coalition in California, Families United Against Inflation in Michigan, the Long Island Meat Boycott Association in New York, Consumers on the Warpath in North Carolina, and Housewives for Collective Action in Texas had become mobilized by the middle of March. These meat boycott groups planned a nationwide boycott of meat for the week April 1-April 7 to demonstrate their anger over rising meat prices and to try to force prices down.

As the boycott groups were mobilizing, President Nixon held a press conference. He suggested that shoppers buy more carefully and that they try eating fish if meat became too expensive. He went on to say "You can be very sure that if I thought that price controls on farm products and on food prices would work, I would impose them instantly." Asked if he supported the proposed nationwide boycott of meat, the President responded cautiously, "I am not going to suggest to American housewives or to any group of Americans to join in boycotts and so forth. I generally do not feel that is an effective use of what we call 'people power'."

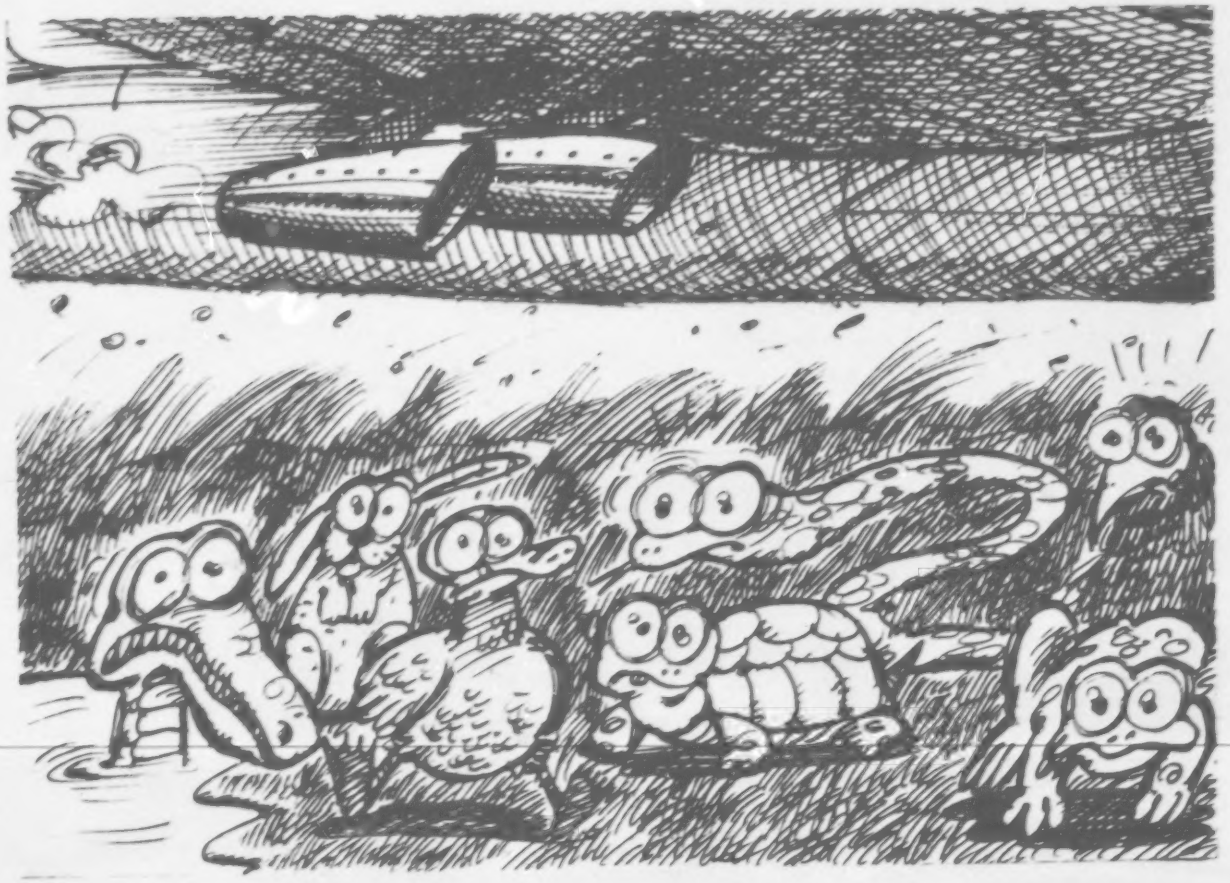
As April neared, more and more groups became committed to the national boycott beginning April 1. Also, by the end of March, George Meany, President of the AFL-CIO, declared his support for some type of price limitations on food. Speaking on behalf of his labor organization Meany said that the first step out of the country's economic nightmare was the imposition of some type of control on food prices. He urged the President to impose such controls. Various members of Congress also began to demand that the President place a ceiling on food prices.

On March 15 the President had declared his opposition to price ceilings for meat. On March 29, he completely reversed himself. In a nationally televised speech the President declared that future prices on beef, port, and lamb were not to exceed the March 29 price. All retail food stores were instructed to post their meat prices on large signs to enable the public as well as government inspectors to quickly check prices. He said that the price limitation would remain in control as long as was necessary to bring prices under control. In concluding his statement the President said, "Meat prices must not go higher and with the help of the housewife and the farmer, they can and should go down."

The President's March 29th statement did not stop the national meat boycott scheduled for the first week in April. When boycott time arrived, the various groups joined forces. On the first day of the boycott, many stores in the United States reported meat sales down by as much as 40%. By the fifth day, retail prices on some cuts of beef actually began to decline. As scheduled, the boycott ended on April 7.

Case Three: What Is A Swamp Worth?

Florida's most striking natural feature is the Everglades. This pristine swampland covers 1,719 square miles in the southern part of the peninsula. (See the map on the next page.) It is filled with rare kinds of animal and plant life.



To many people, the Everglades swamp is a vast wet wasteland -- an obstacle to progress that should be drained, cleared, and developed. However, to many others, the Everglades is a rich source of animal and plant life and of fresh water needed by the people of South Florida -- a magnificant natural monument that should be kept as it is.

Bitter conflict erupted over the Everglades in 1967 between conservationists and those who wanted to develop the swampland. The conservationists battled to prevent construction of a highway, airport, and industries in the Everglades area.

This controversy over how to use the swampland began in the air. Residents of Dade County, near the site of Miami's huge international airport, had been complaining vigorously about the enormous noise and commotion of the jet aircraft and their numerous passengers. These complaints influenced the Dade County Port Authority to seek an out-of-the-way location for a new jetport to relieve the air traffic congestion in Miami. The Port Authority asked the Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) for help and received a $500,000 grant to support planning for a new airport.

After much study, the Port Authority officials decided that a small jetport should be built in eastern Collier County, at the edge of the Everglades. They declared that every reasonable precaution would be taken to protect the wildlife and water supply of the Everglades. (See the map on the next page.)

Early in 1968, Robert Padrick, Chairman of the Central and Southern Florida Flood Control District, discovered some alarming facts about the Port Authority's plans. He learned that they had decided to cut a four-lane super highway, straight through the Everglades, from Miami to the proposed airport. Furthermore, the Port Authority had been quietly purchasing land for a massive thirty-nine square mile jetport with motels and a shopping center.

FORT MYERS
WEST PALM BEACH
FORT LAUDERDALE
MIAMI
LAKE OKEECHOBEE
FORT MYERS
PROPOSED CONNECTING HIGHWAY
CORKSCREW SWAMP
BIG CYPRESS SWAMP
EVERGLADES
FLA. TURNPIKE
WEST PALM BEACH
ALLIGATOR ALLEY
MICCOSUKEE INDIAN AREA
JETPORT
FORT LAUDERDALE
MIAMI
EVERGLADES NATIONAL PARK

Robert Padrick quickly told others about the Port Authority's plans. Leaders of several conservationist groups concluded that the Port Authority's decisions had doomed the Everglades. The bulldozers, concrete, and steel of the land developers would destroy the valuable natural resources of the swampland.

The conservationists sprang into action. Joseph Browder of the National Audobon Society, Gerri Souci of the Sierra Club, Superintendent Raferty of the Everglades National Park, and numerous other conservationist leaders decided to pressure the Port Authority officials to change their plans.

The conservationists drafted a long series of questions about the possible consequences of the new jetport, sent the questions to local newspapers and television stations, and asked the Port Authority officials to answer the questions publicly. They hoped to generate public pressure to block the Port Authority's development plans. The results were disappointing. The Port Authority officials responded unclearly and evasively to the questions and publicly ridiculed the conservationists. They claimed that the unrealistic ideas of "alligator lovers and bird watchers" should not stand in the path of progress. There was little public response to this first open clash between the Port Authority and the conservationists. Thus, the Port Authority officials felt free to move forward with their plans.

They influenced the Federal Department of Transportation to grant $200,000 in April, 1969 to initiate highway construction in the Everglades. In May, they announced that several businessmen had

decided to begin construction of shopping centers, motels, and several industries near the proposed jetport.

In June, the conservationists appealed for help to Senator Henry Jackson, a leading member of the United States Senate Committee on Interior Affairs. Jackson's committee investigated the Everglades jetport issue and urged the Secretary of the Interior, Walter Hickel, to order a study of the situation. Hickel followed this suggestion and asked Dr. L.B. Leopold, a noted ecologist, to determine the possible effects of the proposed jetport on the environment. The National Academy of Science also decided to investigate this issue.

The investigations of the National Academy of Science and the Department of the Interior were completed at the end of August, 1969. Both studies concluded that if the Port Authority's plans were carried out, the Everglades would be damaged severely. The damage would hurt the people of South Florida as well as the wildlife of the swamp.

Despite the scientists' recommendations, the Dade County Port Authority officials were determined to move ahead with their development plans. They argued that the Federal Aviation Administration and the Federal Department of Transportation had approved their plans. Furthermore, they had already spent thirteen million dollars on this project and did not want the money to be wasted.

The conservationist leaders responded by taking the issue to national newspapers and magazines. Articles about the threat to the Everglades appeared in Life, Time, Newsweek, The New York Times, and the Christian Science Monitor. Programs on radio and television proclaimed the dangers to the environment of the Port Authority plans.

Throughout the nation people were aroused. They wrote letters urging the preservation of the Everglades to their congressmen, to Secretary of the Interior Hickel, and to President Nixon.

Secretary Hickel became increasingly opposed to the jetport development and proded President Nixon to intervene. Governor Kirk of Florida and the Metro Commission of Dade County also decided that the new jetport should be constructed someplace other than at the edge of the Everglades.

At the end of November, 1969, President Nixon announced that the Federal Aviation Administration and the Department of Transportation would no longer support the Port Authority's jetport plans. The bulldozers were stopped in their tracks and all construction work at the edge of the Everglades was halted. A short time later, the Port Authority agreed to search for another jetport site.

Through stubborn, skillful political action, the conservationists saved the Everglades and gave the American people a valuable lesson in ecology. Unfortunately, the tuition for this lesson was rather expensive -- the thirteen million dollars that the Port Authority spent on an unfinished project.

Answer these questions about the three preceding cases.

1. Can you identify at least one example of political decision-making in each of these cases?

2. What is the decision rule in each of the examples you identified in response to question 1?

3. Can you identify at least one example of political leadership in each of these cases?

4. What were the bases of leadership in each of the examples you identified in response to question 3?

5. Can you find at least one example of political participation in each of these cases?

6. Can you find at least one example of political communication in each of these cases?

7. How would you describe the patterns of political activities in each of these cases?

8. Are the patterns of political activities and resources in these cases more or less like those in the elite or coalitional system models? Explain.

9. Select one of the three cases and evaluate the political activities in the case. Do you think the political actors in this case did the "right" things? Explain.

PART B: USING EXTANT DATA TO TEST HYPOTHESES

In Unit one, you learned how to conduct systematic observations, using an "observation record" to gather data about political life. In Unit Two, you learned how to do survey research as a way to gather data about political resources. In this unit, you can learn how to gather and interpret extant data.

Activity B-1: What Are Extant Data?

Extant data refers to information found in various types of products of human behavior, such as artifacts and documents of one kind or another. Examples of extant data sources are newspapers, government documents, statistics, letters, diaries, memos, pictures, organizational charts, etc.

Look at the five sources of extant data about Parkview High School on pages 83 to 88 : (1) the front page of an edition of the school newspaper, (2) an excerpt from the school handbook, (3) a chart of relationships between leaders and groups, (4) the transcript of an interview, and (5) a memorandum from the principal's office.

These sources of extant data can be used to support or reject opinions about who has the most political influence at Parkview High School. Try to use evidence in the following sources of extant data, to answer these questions.

1. In your opinion, which individuals or groups have the most political resources? What evidence can you provide to support your opinion?

2. In your opinion, which individuals or groups are more involved in important political activities in the school? What evidence can you provide to support your opinion?

3. In your opinion which individuals or groups are likely to have the most influence on important decisions in this system? What evidence can you provide to support your opinion?

THE PARK "VIEW"

Vol. 11, No. 4 | October 14, 1974 | Parkview High School

Students Plan Boycott As Food Service Declines

Mr. Moore Gives Warning

BY LEO MAGUIRE

Many students from the senior class led by Ralph Bigelow and Norman Black plan to boycott lunch beginning next week. They feel that the quality of food service at Parkview is declining and they say a boycott is the best way to show their anger.

Mr. Moore says that he agrees with the student criticisms about the increasingly small portions of meat served and the new rule that students have to pay for "seconds" in the lunch line. However, he told the students that they have channels such as the Student Council through which to express their views. He said, "This forum is the *only* proper place for students to discuss such an issue. The Council can represent student feelings to the administration which is the proper group to act on the matter."

Mr. Moore warned both Bigelow and Black to stop their plans for the boycott or face suspension for three days.

MAJORITY OF STUDENTS "INVOLVED" FOR FIRST TIME

BY TOM RANKIN

The administration of Parkview High School reports that for the first time a majority of students are active members of at least one of the many clubs at Parkview. Fifty-one percent of the students now belong to at least one club. The most popular clubs are the Spanish Club, the FFA, the Glee Club, and the Drama Club. Mr. Moore commended all four clubs for sparking student interest in extracurricular activities. He says that these clubs provide opportunities for the creative energies of students. "These clubs can really make our students feel a part of the school," he said.

Mr. Moore also said, "These groups are the appropriate places for students to express their opinions. Some of their best ideas may be sent to me through the proper channels so that my assistants and I can make decisions about them."

Mrs. Maxwell, tough in the classroom, but very well-liked.

MR. MOORE NAMES MRS. MAXWELL "TEACHER OF THE YEAR"

BY RUDY CANTRELL

The Teacher of the Year Award for 1974 was given to Mrs. Joyce Maxwell of the English department. In making the award this year Mr. Moore commended Mrs. Maxwell for her loyalty to Parkview.

The new Teacher of the Year has been at Parkview for 7 years and is well-liked by most students. In addition to teaching four classes of English each day, Mrs. Maxwell heads the teachers' council. This group makes suggestions to Mr. Moore about new textbooks they would like for use in classes and makes up lists of new courses for all the departments at the school. As head of the council, Mrs. Maxwell listens carefully to suggestions from student leaders, especially about the development of new courses. Asked about her role on the teachers' council, Mrs. Maxwell responded, "The council has been quite successful. We have good textbooks for our students and many ideas for new courses. Of course, if Mr. Moore does not like our suggestions for new courses, we recognize that as principal, he can veto our ideas. At least, the council provides teachers at Parkview with an opportunity to feel as though they are participating in school affairs."

In response to the award just given her Mrs. Maxwell said simply, "I'm thrilled that a teacher is given so much attention. The administration treats us very well at Parkview."

DECISION MADE ON NEW DEVELOPMENT

BY MARY TODD

Mr. Moore said today that after reviewing suggestions from students, teachers, and his administration, he has decided how to use the land Parkview recently acquired. A month ago Parkview bought the five acres of land adjoining the football field. After the purchase, Mr. Moore encouraged suggestions for the development of new property.

Many students voice support for using the new property to expand the currently overcrowded athletic area. The Athletic Director, Mr. Witzel, agreed with the students.

Teachers suggested that the new property be used to build a new resource center for the entire school. Many teachers have already begun a fund-raising drive to raise enough money for new curriculum materials to be placed in the center.

Mrs. MacFee, social studies teacher, hopes to move these shelves into a new resource center and fill them with new books.

Mr. Moore, however, has decided that Parkview will leave the property vacant. He said today, "the school can earn a great deal of money by holding the property and selling it in a few years." That is apparently what will happen with the property.

Specialists at Parkview*

While Parkview has many of the same educational goals of other schools in the area, one factor distinguishes Parkview from other institutions of secondary education. Our staff is made up of specialists; both teachers and administrators.

We recognize one of education's most apparent failures as one of personnel. Until recently, teachers have taken on an extremely large responsibility in both teaching in and running the schools. In fact, this is true of many schools today. At Parkview we feel that teachers should be free to engage in the speciality for which they were trained. They should devote their full energies to students and they should not be encumbered with other school problems.

To run our school, we have a small number of administrators whose responsibility is to make all decisions regarding school policy consulting, of course, with students and teachers. Our administrators possess expertise in financial planning, land development, and urban growth. They "run" Parkview and allow the teachers to devote full time to teaching.

So that it does not become isolated from the teaching staff, the administration has hired several experts in various areas of education who act as intermediaries between them and the teachers. We have an expert in student counseling, curriculum development, and special education. These experts work with the teachers and communicate their problems to the administration. This reliance on specialists allows Parkview to function at maximum efficiency.

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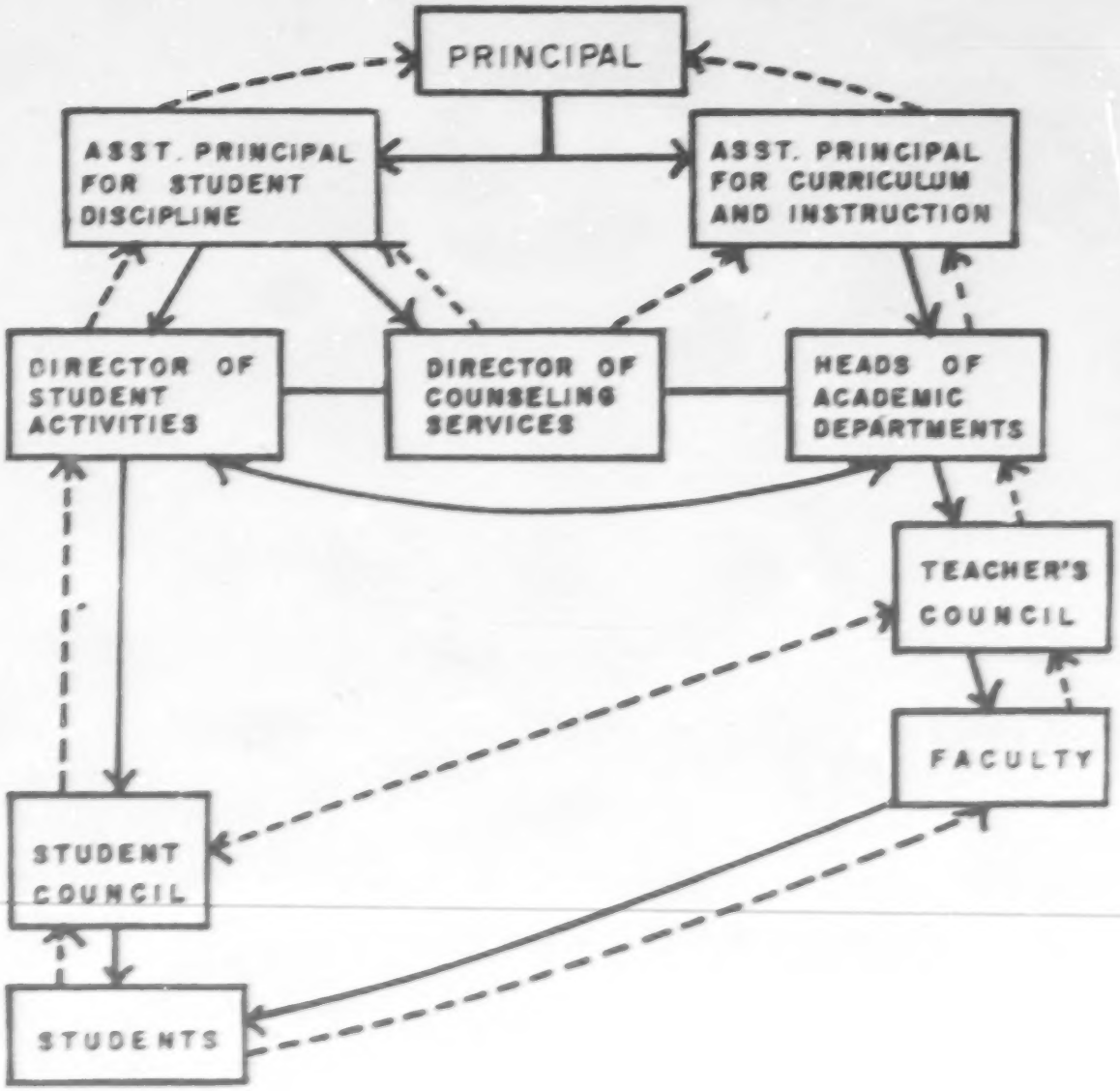
*From page 1 of the school handbook.

CHART OF RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN LEADERS AND GROUPS AT PARKVIEW HIGH SCHOOL



→ USUAL LINES OF INFLUENCE

- - - → OCCASIONAL LINES OF INFLUENCE

Interview with the Assistant Principal
for Curriculum and Instruction

Cheryl Hopkins: (Interviewer) Good morning, Mrs. Johnson. If you've got a couple of minutes, I'd like to talk to you about the open campus issue at Parkview. The school paper is doing a story about open campus and we're trying to interview as many people as we can aoout the question.

Mrs. Johnson: (Assistant Principal) I'll be glad to talk with you, Cheryl, but I can't guarantee you that I can answer all of your questions.

Cheryl: Oh, that's okay, Mrs. Johnson. I just talked with Mr. Smith and some of the other teachers about open campus and they told me that you would probably know more than they do.

Mrs. Johnson: Let me see if I can give you the administration's view of the open campus question, as I understand it. Remember, though, that I only have the information which relates to my job as assistant principal of Curriculum and Instruction.

Cheryl: Okay, Mrs. Johnson.

Mrs. Johnson: As you know, any senior whose average is above 2.5 may leave the school after their last class. We feel that this policy gives additional privileges to those students who have proven that they can handle the responsibility.

Cheryl: Do you support those who say that any senior should be able to leave school after their last class?

Mrs. Johnson: No, I don't think so. As I said, I feel that only those who can attain a grade average of 2.5 or better can handle the added responsiblity of open campus privileges.

Cheryl: Many seniors will be working next year or attending college. Some of my friends think that all seniors should have the opportunity to leave school after their last class. It sort of makes them feel more like adults. How can they try to influence the administration to change policy?

Mrs. Johnson: I would advise them to ask the Student Council for help. The Student Council has always been a forum where students could express their feelings. If enough students want these additional privileges, they could then approach the administration to ask for some change in its policy. It was just last year that the Teacher's Council proposed that we limit open campus privileges from seniors who have a 2.0 average to seniors who have an average of 2.5 or above. Mr. Moore asked me to attend that meeting and study the proposal.

Cheryl: And that's how we have our present policy, right?

Mrs. Johnson: Right! So, if anyone wants to change the current policy, we encourage them to participate through the appropriate channels. In the case of your friends, this would be the Student Council. I'll be anxious to hear the results of any meeting on the open campus issue and I'll pass on the information to Mr. Moore for a final decision.

PARKVIEW HIGH SCHOOL

From The Principal's Office

To: Department Heads From: Mr. Moore

Subj: Requests for New Library Books Date: November 1, 1974

November 18 is the deadline for submitting your requests for the purchase of new books for the library. Remind members of your department that they are to present their requests to you. You are to screen these requests and to make a list of books which you have approved to our librarian. The librarian will examine the lists received from each department head and will remove objectionable books from this list. The librarian will then submit these lists to me for final approval.

Activity B-2: Using Data To Test Hypotheses

Hypotheses are reasonable guesses about the answer to a question. Consider this question: Which individuals or groups are likely to have the most influence on important decisions at Parkview High School? Following are reasonable guesses, or tentative answers, to this question. These tentative answers are three alterrative hypotheses one might make in response to the question. Hypothesis One -- The principal and his assistants have more influence on important decisions than other individuals or groups at Parkview High School. Hypothesis Two -- The Teacher's Council has more influence on important decisions than other individuals or groups at Parkview High School. Hypothesis Three -- The Student Council has more influence on important decisions than other individuals or groups at Parkview High School.

It is clear that only one of these three alternative hypotheses can be correct. Using sources of extant data is one way to gather evidence to either support or reject these hypotheses; that is, to test these hypotheses.

The preceding alternative hypotheses can be useful to us in our inquiries about who has influence on important decisions at Parkview High School. The hypotheses are useful, because they are stated clearly, related directly to our problem or question, and offer a new idea about our problem or question.

This is an example of an unclear hypothesis about who has the most influence on important decisions at Parkview High School: The big shots at our school have all the say about what happens. This hypothesis includes ambigious words such as "big shots" and "what happens." Compare this unclear hypothesis to hypothesis

one on page 89 which is clearly stated in order to see the difference between a non-useful and a useful hypothesis. Remember that to be useful as a guide to inquiry, a hypothesis must be stated clearly.

Hypotheses one, two, and three, on page 89 are related directly to our problem or question, which is to find out who has the most influence on important decisions at Parkview High School. In contrast, this hypothesis in NOT related directly to the problem: If teachers gain more information about issues in the school, they will have more influence on important decisions. This hypothesis is stated clearly. However, it is a response to a question about how teachers can gain more influence. This is NOT the question we are trying to answer. Remember that to be useful as a guide to inquiry, a hypothesis must be related directly to our problem or question.

Hypothesis one, two, and three are new ideas about our problem, which is to find out who has most influence on important decisions at Parkview High School. Thus, they are useful as guides to inquiry about our problem. If a hypothesis merely restates what we already know, it is NOT very useful.

Which of the three alternative hypotheses seem to be supported by the extant data about Parkview High School on pages 83 to 88 ?

Suppose that you want to know the answer to this question: Have blacks or whites tended to participate more extensively in electorial politics? Here are three useful alternative hypotheses someone might make in response to this question:

1. Blacks have tended to participate in electoral politics about as much as whites have.

2. Blacks have tended to participate in electoral politics much more than whites have.

3. Blacks have tended to participate in electoral politics much less than whites have.

Are the three preceding hypotheses useful? Why?

To support or reject these hypotheses, we need some evidence. Evidence is information that is useful for testing hypotheses and answering questions. To be useful for testing a hypothesis, evidence should be related clearly to the hypothesis, collected systematically, and available from a reliable source.

Look at the following five Tables. These tables contain evidence about the political participation of black and white people. This evidence can be used to test the three hypotheses at the top of the page.

The evidence in Tables 1-5 is related clearly to the three hypotheses above. These hypotheses are statements about whether blacks or whites participate more or less in electoral politics. The evidence in the tables describes the participation of blacks and whites in recent elections. Thus, the evidence is related clearly to the hypotheses.

The evidence in Tables 1-5 was collected systematically. The evidence in Tables 1-3 was collected through properly done sample survey studies.* The evidence in Tables 4 and 5 was gathered by counting carefully the number of black people who have been elected to various kinds of public offices.

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*See pages 50-86 of Unit Two for discussion of how to conduct a sample survey study.

The evidence is made available by two usually reliable sources: the U.S. Department of Commerce and the U.S. Bureau of the Census.

The evidence in Tables 1-5 can be considered extant data. These data can be used to support or reject the three alternative hypotheses about the political activity of black and white Americans. Which one of these three hypotheses can be supported by the evidence in Tables 1-5?

Table 1 Reported Voter Participation and Registration of the Population of Voting Age, by Region: 1964, 1968, and 1972

(Numbers in thousands)

Subject	Black			White		
	1964	1968	1972	1964	1968	1972
Number who reported that they voted:						
United States	6,048	6,300	7,033	70,204	72,213	78,167
South	[1]2,576	3,094	3,324	15,813	17,853	20,201
North and West	[1]3,891	3,206	3,707	54,392	54,362	57,966
Percent of voting age population who reported that they voted:						
United States	58	58	52	71	69	64
South	[1]44	52	48	59	62	57
North and West	[1]72	65	57	75	72	68
Percent of registered population who reported they voted:						
United States	(NA)	87	80	(NA)	92	88
South	(NA)	84	75	(NA)	87	82
North and West	(NA)	90	85	(NA)	93	90

NA Not available.
[1] Includes persons of "other races."

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Social and Economic Statistics Administration, Bureau of the Census.

Table 2 Reported Voter Registration for Persons of Voting Age, by Region: 1968 and 1972

(Numbers in thousands)

Subject	Presidential elections			
	Black		White	
	1968	1972	1968	1972
All persons of voting age:				
United States	10,935	13,494	104,521	121,241
South	5,991	6,950	28,834	35,415
North and West	4,944	6,544	75,687	85,830
Number who reported they registered:				
United States	7,238	8,836	78,835	88,986
South	3,690	4,449	20,416	24,707
North and West	3,548	4,386	58,419	64,278
Percent of voting-age population:				
United States	66	65	75	73
South	62	64	71	70
North and West	72	67	77	75

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Social and Economic Statistics Administration, Bureau of the Census.

Table 3 Reported Voter Participation for the Black Population of Voting Age in the 1972 Election, by Region and Age

(Numbers in thousands)

Age	United States	South	North and West
Number who reported that they voted:			
18 years and over	7,033	3,324	3,707
18 to 24 years	1,040	469	569
25 to 44 years	2,851	1,327	1,524
45 to 64 years	2,326	1,108	1,218
65 years and over	816	420	396
Percent in each age group who reported that they voted:			
18 years and over	52	48	57
18 to 24 years	35	31	38
25 to 44 years	56	53	58
45 to 64 years	62	56	68
65 years and over	51	43	62

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Social and Economic Statistics Administration, Bureau of the Census.

Table 4 Black Legislators and Blacks Elected to Other Public Office: 1964, 1968, 1970, and 1972

Subject	1964	1968	1970	1972
Total	103	1,125	1,860	2,625
United States Senate:				
United States	-	1	1	1
South	-	-	-	-
House of Representatives:				
United States	5	9	13	15
South	-	-	2	4
State Legislatures:				
United States	94	172	198	238
South	16	53	70	90
Mayors:				
United States	(NA)	29	81	83
South	(NA)	17	47	49
Other:[1]				
United States	(NA)	914	1,567	2,288
South	(NA)	468	763	1,242

Note: Figures for the years 1964 and 1968 represent the total number of elected blacks holding office at that time, not just those elected in those years. The 1970 and 1972 figures represent the number of elected blacks holding office as of March 1971 and March 1973, respectively.

- Represents zero. NA Not available.

[1]Includes all black elected officials not included in first four categories.

Source: Potomac Institute and Joint Center for Political Studies.

Table 5 Black Elected Officials by State: March 1972

State	1970 percent black	Black elected officials					
		Total	Congress	State	City	County	Other[1]
United States.....	11.1	2,625	16	240	1,057	211	1,101
Maine.....	0.3	3	-	1	1	-	1
New Hampshire.....	0.3	1	-	-	-	-	1
Vermont.....	0.2	2	-	-	1	-	1
Massachusetts.....	3.1	20	1	5	9	-	5
Rhode Island.....	2.7	7	-	1	2	-	4
Connecticut.....	6.0	48	-	6	26	-	16
New York.....	11.9	164	2	15	15	6	126
New Jersey.....	10.7	134	-	7	47	3	77
Pennsylvania.....	8.6	65	1	12	13	1	38
Ohio.....	9.1	111	1	[illegible]	59	3	37
Indiana.....	6.9	57	-	[illegible]	30	2	18
Illinois.....	12.8	137	1	19	63	2	52
Michigan.....	11.2	179	2	16	55	31	75
Wisconsin.....	2.9	9	-	3	4	2	-
Minnesota.....	0.9	7	-	2	1	-	4
Iowa.....	1.2	8	-	1	2	-	5
Missouri.....	10.3	85	1	15	34	5	30
North Dakota.....	0.4	-	-	-	-	-	-
South Dakota.....	0.2	-	-	-	-	-	-
Nebraska.....	2.7	3	-	1	1	-	1
Kansas.....	4.8	22	-	5	8	1	8
Delaware.....	4.3	12	-	3	8	-	1
Maryland.....	17.8	55	1	18	25	-	11
District of Columbia.....	71.1	8	1	-	-	-	7
Virginia.....	18.5	62	-	3	35	18	6
West Virginia.....	3.9	5	-	1	4	-	-
North Carolina.....	22.2	112	-	3	70	7	32
South Carolina.....	30.5	99	-	4	44	15	36
Georgia.....	25.9	104	1	16	43	9	35
Florida.....	15.3	58	-	3	51	-	4
Kentucky.....	7.2	55	-	3	35	3	14
Tennessee.....	15.8	71	-	9	21	25	16
Alabama.....	26.2	149	-	2	55	20	72
Mississippi.....	36.8	156	-	1	55	27	73
Arkansas.....	18.3	141	-	4	67	1	69
Louisiana.....	29.8	130	-	8	28	29	65
Oklahoma.....	6.7	67	-	4	43	-	20
Texas.....	12.5	101	1	8	42	-	50
Montana.....	0.3	-	-	-	-	-	-
Idaho.....	0.3	-	-	-	-	-	-
Wyoming.....	0.8	2	-	-	1	-	1
Colorado.....	3.0	8	-	4	3	-	1
New Mexico.....	1.9	4	-	1	3	-	-
Arizona.....	3.0	4	-	2	-	-	2
Utah.....	0.6	-	-	-	-	-	-
Nevada.....	5.7	6	-	3	-	1	2
Washington.....	2.1	13	-	2	6	-	5
Oregon.....	1.3	6	-	1	1	-	4
California.....	7.0	130	3	8	45	-	74
Alaska.....	3.0	5	-	2	1	-	2
Hawaii.....	1.0	-	-	-	-	-	-

Note: Figures shown represent the total number of elected blacks holding office as of March 1973.

- Represents zero.

[1]Includes law enforcement and education.

Source: Joint Center for Political Studies and U.S. Department of Commerce, Social and Economic Statistics Administration, Bureau of the Census.

Suppose you want to answer this question: Are younger or older people more likely to be very active political participants? Which of the following hypotheses can be judged useful in terms of the ideas discussed on the preceding pages?

1. Younger people are more likely than older people to be very active political participants.
2. Some people tend to be very active political participants.
3. Younger people are less likely than older people to be very active political participants.
4. Younger people should be more active in politics than older people are.

Following are examples of evidence that could be used to test the "useful" hypotheses in the preceding list. Which of these examples can be judged as useful evidence in terms of the ideas discussed on the preceding pages?

1. Data produced by a survey of a representative national sample who responded to a questionaire about how often they take part in various political activities.
2. Data in a newspaper article about the political activities of people in a neighborhood political club in Chicago.
3. A transcript of an interview of a young political activist in which he tells about his political activities.

Using Survey Data To Test Hypotheses About Political Resources In Your School

You can use the data, which you collected through your Unit Two survey, to test hypotheses about political resources in your school. Following is a list of hypotheses. Which of these hypotheses is supported or rejected by your survey data? Your teacher will provide you with worksheets and instructions about how to organize and interpret your survey data in order to test these hypotheses.

Hypotheses About Political Resources In Your School

1. a. Students in our school tend to believe that they have many political resources.
   b. Students in our school tend to believe that they have some, but not many, political resources.
   c. Students in our school tend to believe that they have few political resources.
2. a. Students in our school tend to believe that they can have much influence on important decisions in the school.
   b. Students in our school tend to believe that they can have a slight influence on important decisions in the school.
   c. Students in our school tend to believe that they can have no influence on important decisions in the school.
3. a. Students in this school are more likely than teachers to believe that they have <u>many</u> political resources.

b. Students in this school are more likely than teachers to believe that they have *few* political resources.

c. Students in this school are neither *more nor less* likely than teachers to believe that they have many political resources.

4. a. Students in this school are more likely than administrators to believe that they have *many* political resources.

b. Students in this school are more likely than administrators to believe that they have *few* political resources.

c. Students in this school are *neither more nor less likely* than teachers to believe that they have many political resources.

5. a. Students are *more* likely than teachers to believe that they can influence important *decisions* in this school.

b. Students are less likely than teachers to believe that they can influence important *decisions* in this school

c. Students are *neither more nor less* likely than teachers to believe that they can influence important *decisions* in this school.

6. a. Students are more likely than administrators to believe that they can influence important decisions in this school.

   b. Students are less likely than administrators to believe that they can influence important decisions in this school.

   c. Students are neither more nor less likely than administrators to believe that they can influence important decisions in this school.

Activity B-3: Using Extant Data and Survey Data To Test Hypotheses About Political Activities

Following, on pages 102 to 109 , is a set of extant data sources about a high school. In addition, on pages 110 to 112 , there are six tables reporting the results of a survey of opinions about political resources and influence in this high school. Use these data to test the following hypotheses (1-4).

1. Students and teachers are very involved in political activities in the school.
2. Students and teachers are not very involved in political activities in the school.
3. Students and teachers are likely to have very much influence on important decisions in the school.
4. Students and teachers are not likely to have very much influence on important decisions in the school.

Refer to the extant data about Parkview High School. Compare these data to the sources about Malcolm X High School. Use both sets of extant data to support or reject the following hypotheses (5-10).

5. Students are more involved in political activities at Parkview High School than at Malcolm X High School.
6. Students are less involved in political activities at Parkview High School than at Malcolm X High School.
7. Students have more political resources at Parkview High School than at Malcolm X High School.
8. Students have less political resources at Parkview High School than at Malcolm X High School.
9. Students are more likely to have influence on important decisions at Parkview High School than at Malcolm X High School.
10. Students are less likely to have influence on important decisions at Parkview High School than at Malcolm X High School.

THE MALCOLM X JOURNAL

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POP STAYS; CANDY GOES

by Samantha Fox

The issue which embroiled Malcolm X High in controversy for two months has been settled. A final decision was achieved last night. The soft drink machine will stay in the student lounge. The candy machine, however, will be removed from the school early next week.

"It was difficult to find a solution that reflected the interests of everyone involved," said principal Jabob Robinson. Many groups and individuals have been involved since the issue first developed.

Sara Vanderstal, home economics teacher, initially raised the subject at a faculty meeting. She voiced concern that students were filling up on candy and pop, causing them to skip lunch. Citing the low nutritional value of candy, Mrs. Vanderstal argued that the school contributed to lowering health standards by allowing the vending machines on school property.

The issue ballooned quickly. Custodians grumbled about candy wrappers in the halls. Teachers complained about students eating candy in class. The principal indicated that some people complained about candy wrappers in the school yard. He reported receiving calls from parents who supported Mrs. Vanderstal's position. Members of the Home Economics Club spread the issue among students.

Support for the vending machines was organized by the junior class. Their class treasury received twenty-five percent of the profits from candy and soft drink sales. They encouraged students to state their views in favor of keeping the machines.

The final decision was made last night, after numerous previous meetings. Members of all interest groups were present. They finally agreed with the merits of Mrs. Vanderstal's reasons for removing the candy machine. Arguments against soft drinks, however, were weak. Everyone, including Mrs. Vanderstal, agreed to keep the pop machine.

Several people felt the junior class should be compensated for revenue lost by the decision. Mike Reddy, junior class president, and Mr. Robinson will jointly request the Student Council to grant permission for the juniors to sponsor noon time dances every other Friday. The junior class will make enough money from the dances to offset the funds from the candy machine.

Most people thought the outcome was fair. "We are pleased about the decision to remove the candy machine," Mrs. Vanderstal said this morning. Mike Reddy reported that the junior class was satisfied with the agreement.

STUDENTS ORGANIZING SPECIAL CLASSES

by Robert Bower

Several students are trying to organize a week of special interest classes. The "mini-classes" will be held during the first week of the second semester, if the idea materializes.

Terry MacFarland, a senior actively promoting the idea, reports that a list of possible classes is now being developed. "People have volunteered to teach classes ranging from crocheting to motorcycle repair. Students will be free to select any course on the list which interests them," MacFarland said.

The school administration supports the idea, but refuses to manage the effort. "We do not think administrators should control and direct everything that happens in the school," said principal Jacob Robinson. Mr. Robinson added that this idea originated with students and they should mobilize people to carry it through. "Schools should allow students to take the initiative in organizing their interests," he said.

According to MacFarland, many students have played important parts in the project. "Lots of students have the talent to organize people and make this idea work," he said.

Anyone interested in working on the project should contact Terry. Several important positions still need to be filled.

"Habit-forming"

PRINCIPAL LUNCHES WITH STUDENTS

by Fred Laster

After eating in the student cafeteria last Tuesday, Principal Jacob Robinson has decided to make it a habit. He plans to spend the noon hour every Tuesday and Thursday lunching with students.

Mr. Robinson found the informal conversation valuable. "It gave me a chance to hear from a lot of students. I also had a chance to explain the problems with which the administration is faced," he said. Any student is invited to join Mr. Robinson for an informal exchange of ideas over the lunch table.

Seniors Seek Broad Agreement

by Viola Smith

Ms. Kowalski, senior class adviser, and Samuel Katz, class president, announced a series of special meetings about the class trip for seniors. The first meeting will be held January 11 in room 201 after school. All seniors are urged to attend.

"We want to develop a broad base of agreement about the location of the senior trip this year," reported Ms. Kowalski. Last year's class waited until late in the semester before choosing. A majority selected Washington, D.C., but a large minority were disappointed and complained bitterly about the choice during the trip.

At the meeting several seniors are scheduled to make proposals for various trip sites. Any senior, however, may make a suggestion from the floor.

No decision will be made at the meeting. "We only want people to begin thinking about the trip site," said Ms. Kowalski. "We will need several meetings and a lot of talk before we reach general agreement," added Samuel Katz, "but the effort will be worthwhile if everyone willingly accepts the final choice."

A Reminder . . .

The history textbook committee reminds all sophomores that the books the committee is seriously considering are displayed in room 117. Students may examine the books after school. Reactions to the texts will be solicited before the committee makes a final selec[illegible].

113

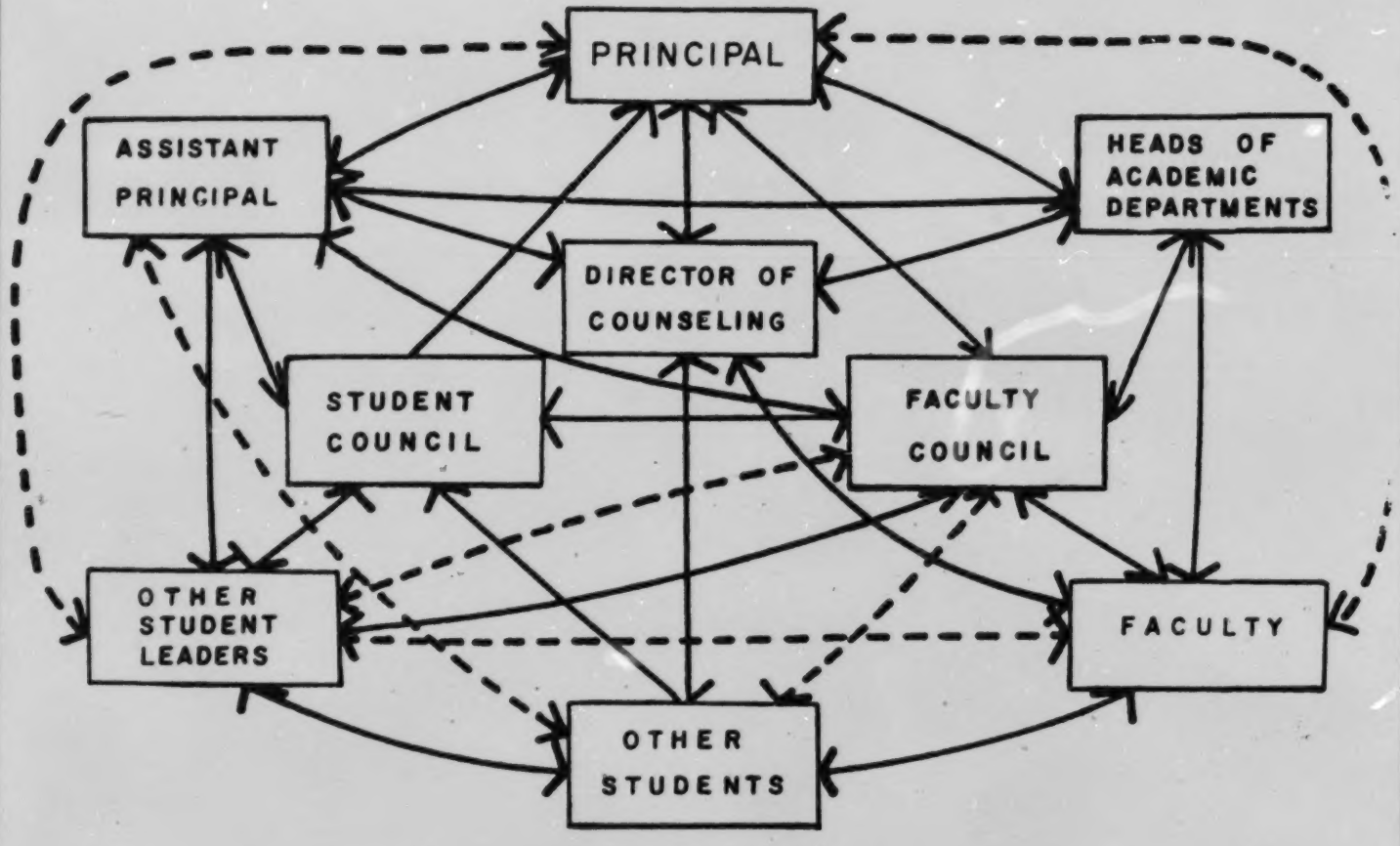
Words About Words

Malcolm X High School has a written statement of education philosophy. Several teachers wrote it one summer. They distributed copies of the philosophy to every faculty member and asked for comments. Few people talked about the philosophy then, and no one seriously discussed it after that time.

The philosophy was printed in the Malcolm X High School Teacher's Handbook. Part of that set of beliefs is reproduced below:

> Our philosophical statement is very general. We do not wish to force faculty to accept a narrow, specific set of ideas about the purposes and means of education. The broadness of the philosophy is an asset for our school. We need a broad philosophical position to accomodate diverse opinions and values among teachers. We need a philosophy general enough to suit differences among students from varied backgrounds, with assorted goals in life.
>
> All teachers are committed to providing a quality education for each student. Yet, teachers will vary in the way they choose to implement the philosophy. Some teachers will stress certain goals, while others will stress different goals. These philosophical differences are valued at Malcolm X High School.

CHART OF RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN LEADERS AND GROUPS AT MALCOLM X HIGH SCHOOL



→ USUAL LINES OF INFLUENCE

⇢ OCCASIONAL LINES OF INFLUENCE

Minutes of Meeting of December 3, 1974

People present:

1. Jacob Robinson, Principal
2. Andy Westfield, Athletic Director
3. Robert Jackson, senior student
4. Jim Cusick, junior class president
5. Tom O'Malley, sophomore student
6. Willie Jones, freshman student
7. Camelia Alverez, senior student

Purpose for the meeting:

The major topic discussed was over-crowded conditions in the gym. There are too few basketball courts for the number of people who want to play during lunch.

Items discussed:

1. Closing the gym
2. Staggering lunch periods
3. Restricting use of the gym to upper classmen
4. Allocating use of the gym on a limited basis
5. Girls use of the gym

1. Closing the gym:

Mr. Westfield said that closing the gym to student use during lunch was a possibility. He reported several incidents of senior boys forcing freshman boys off from courts. He said the school could not tolerate such behavior and would close the gym if it continued.

2. Staggering lunch periods:

Jim Cusick suggested that over-crowding could be reduced by staggering lunch periods: seniors at one time, juniors at another, etc.

Mr. Robinson indicated that such action would require making a new class schedule for every student. Staggering the starting and ending of the school day might be necessary if this plan were accepted. Mr. Robinson thought that parents of students at various grade levels would be upset by such action.

Robert Jackson said that the plan would surely upset senior boys who were dating underclassmen girls. Couples usually want to spend lunch together.

3. Restricting use of the gym to upperclassmen:

Robert Jackson suggested that only seniors be allowed to use the gym.

Willie Jones, Ron O'Malley, and Jim Cusick said that the groups they represented would not go along with such a plan.

Mr. Robinson indicated that the plan was unfair, and he would have trouble accepting it.

4. Allocating use of the gym on a limited basis:

Willie Jones suggested that one day a week be set aside for the boys from a particular class to use the gym. For example, freshman boys could use it on Monday, sophomores on Tuesday, etc.

Robert Jackson, Jim Cusick, and Tom O'Malley said they thought the groups they represented could accept Willie's plan. Mr. Robinson and Mr. Westfield thought the plan was fair and most students would agree with it.

Camelia Alverez disagreed.

5. Girls use of the gym:

Camelia Alverez argued that more and more girls were interested in athletics. Several girls wanted to play basketball during lunch, but they felt there was an unwritten rule that only boys could use the gym. Thus, the girls were reluctant to use the courts.

Camelia said she could accept Willie's plan if half the gym were set aside for girls.

Tom O'Malley and Willie Jones said it was fair for girls to use the gym too. Jim Cusick and Robert Jackson said they did not really like the idea, but admitted that it was unfair to exclude girls. Mr. Robinson agreed with Camelia.

Resolution of the issue and actions taken:

After discussing the proposals, everyone agreed that the plan with the most merit was to set aside one day a week for boys and girls from a particular class to use the gym during lunch. This proposal had the strongest supporting reasons and seemed fairest. Everyone thought all students in the school could accept the plan, or at least live with it.

Two actions were taken. Mr. Westfield was told to make a tentative schedule for the rest of the semester. Willie Jones, Camelia Alverez, Tim O'Malley, Jim Cusick, and Robert Jackson were told to inform other students about the proposed solution to over-crowding in the gym. They are supposed to find out what students think of the plan and be ready to report their findings at the next meeting.

The next meeting will be held next Tuesday, after school, in Mr. Robinson's office. A final decision will be made then.

Who Decides What Kids Learn?

Early in the year, all five United States history teachers at Malcolm X High School and the social studies department chairperson, Helen Simson, meet as a committee. They were responsible for choosing new history books for the school. Jacob Robinson, the principal, also attended the meeting.

After welcoming everyone, Helen Simson explained that the committee had only six months to study available history texts before making a choice. She stated that the purpose of the meeting was organizing the committee.

Jacob Robinson then addressed the committee. He said that the selection of instructional material was the second most important choice a school makes. The most important decision was about the quality of the people hired to work with students. "Textbooks," he said, "affect what students learn and how they learn."

He reminded the committee of the Board of Education's policies about textbooks. Once the committee selected a book, it would have to be used for three to five years. Board policy also required that textbooks depict the contributions of all racial, ethnic, and religious groups. Mr. Robinson concluded by stressing the importance of the committee's decision and by offering his full cooperation and support.

Following is a transcript of the rest of the committee's meeting:

Helen Simson: Do we need to pick a chairman for the committee?

Dean D'Alba: No. We can usually discuss issues without a formal moderator.

Sally Padolick: There are differences of opinion among committee members about what a good text is. We'll need to exchange ideas honestly and frankly if we're going to agree. A chairperson might get in the way of a lively discusion.

Helen Simson: Does anybody think that we need a chairman? Okay, we're all agreed: No chairman. And I'll stop acting like one! Any ideas on organizing for the job?

Jerry Siegal: I agree with Jacob about the effects of textbooks on students. So would it be a good idea to involve students in the choices about what book to use?

Sally Padolick: What do you mean, Jerry?

Jerry Siegal: We could ask three or four sophomores to join the committee. Then we'd get advice from some of the people who'll be using the book next year in junior history classes.

Mary Lou Nelson: I like the idea. We'd have to be careful while selecting students or only "A" students would be picked. If we really want broad based involvement, we must include "C" and "D" students too.

Helen Simson: The students named to the committee would have to be out-going, the kind who'd spread the word to other students.

Sally Padolick: We've got plenty of talkative students in this school. No problem there.

Dean D'Alba: Only three of four students could be on the committee. That's a pretty small number to represent the whole sophomore class.

Helen Simson: There must be some way for more students to tell us what they think of various books.

Jerry Siegal: A committee, made up of teachers and a few students, could narrow the choice to about ten books. Then each sophomore social studies class could devote a class period or two for students to examine the books. Finally, we could provide rating questionnaires to collect their evaluations. That would give us some useful information. What do you think, Harry? You've not said anything yet.

Harry Johnson: I don't care much for the idea. I'm not sure that students know enough to make good choices about history books. But all of you seem so enthusiastic about the idea that I'm willing to go along. Jacob, does school policy permit this action?

Jacob Robinson: School policy gives responsibility only to the textbook committee. Nothing, however, prevents you from informing students of what you're doing or from asking students to tell you what they think. At Malcolm X, we try to inform students of events that affect their interests and to hear their ideas. Are all of you aware of the extra work you'd be taking on with this plan?

Dean D'Alba: So often people say, "Let's involve students," but they take no action. Talk is not enough. We have to inform them that they can contribute; we have to encourage them to take part; and we have to respond when they voice ideas, opinions, and complaints. That doesn't mean we must do whatever they say. It means that we really want to know their interests and want them to understand the choices occurring in their school. I think we should do it.

The committee unanimously agreed to include students in the process of selecting textbooks.

Results of a Survey Study of Teachers
and Students at Malcolm X High School*

Table 6: Responses to This Question -- Which one of These Statements Best Describes How Influence is Used in Our School?

Response	Percent Responding (teachers)	Percent Responding (students)
(a) Students and teachers do what administrators have decided they shall do and there is little opportunity to change the administrators' minds.....	0%	0%
(b) Students and teachers can talk to administrators and maybe change their minds on some things, but administrators still have control over what gets done.....	5%	5%
(c) Students and teachers can get the administrators to go along with what they want quite often.....	20%	25%
(d) On different issues, students, administrators, and teachers have roughly equal opportunity to get their way.....	75%	70%
TOTAL.....	100%	100%

*This study involved a random sample of 450 students in a population of 1,215 students and a population survey of 71 teachers.

Table 7: Responses to This Question -- How Much Influence Do Students Have on Decisions About Rules for Students?

Response	Percent Responding (teachers)	Percent Responding (students)
(a) None.....	0%	0%
(b) A Little.....	1%	5%
(c) A Lot.....	20%	20%
(d) Final Say.....	79%	75%
TOTAL.....	100%	100%

Table 8: Responses to This Question -- How Much Influence Do Students have on Decisions About How Money, Materials and Equipment is Spread Among Clubs or Groups in the School?

Response	Percent Responding (teachers)	Percent Responding (students)
(a) None.....	1%	5%
(b) A Little.....	5%	3%
(c) A Lot.....	9%	19%
(d) Final Say.....	85%	73%
TOTAL.....	100%	100%

Table 9: Students' and Teachers' Judgements (On a 1-5 Scale) of How Well-Informed They are About What Goes on in the School.

Response	Percent Responding (teachers)	Percent Responding (students)
1. Very Well-Informed.....	89%	82%
2.	8%	12%
3.	3%	0%
4.	0%	2%
5. Not Well-Informed.....	0%	4%
TOTAL.....	100%	100%

Table 10: Students' and Teachers' Judgments (On a 1-5 Scale) of the Extent to Which They Have Important Political Skills

Response	Percent Responding (teachers)	Percent Responding (students)
1. Have Most Skills.....	67%	73%
2.	21%	24%
3.	8%	0%
4.	3%	1%
5. Have Few or No Skills.....	1%	2%
TOTAL.....	100%	100%

Table 11: Responses to This Question -- How are Most Important Decisions Made in This High School?

Response	Percent Responding (teachers)	Percent Responding (students)
(a) One person or a small group decides. Everyone else follows along.....	0%	0%
(b) A few groups or small number of people agree. Everyone else follows along.....	4%	7%
(c) A majority of the people interested in the decision must agree on the decision before it can be made.....	30%	33%
(d) Almost everyone interested in the decision must agree on the decision before it can be made.....	66%	60%
TOTAL.....	100%	100%

A Problem in the Gathering and Interpretation of Extant Data

Can you gather extant data in your school that is revelant to the following hypotheses? Note that these hypotheses are related to some of the hypotheses used in your survey data analysis lesson on pages 98 to 100 (Activity B-2). One aspect of this assignment is to determine whether the extant data that you gather is consistent with the findings of your survey study.

List of Hypotheses

1. a. A majority of students are involved in important political activities in this school.

   b. Many students, but not a majority, of students are involved in important political activities in this school.

   c. A small minority of students are involved in important political activities in this school.

   d. Almost no students are involved in important political activities in this school.

2. a. A majority of students are able to influence the making of important decisions in this school.

   b. Many students, but not a majority, of students are able to influence the making of important decisions in this school.

   c. A small minority of students are able to influence the making of important decisions in this school.

   d. Almost no students are able to influence the making of important decisions in this school.

Your teacher will divide the class into work groups for the purpose of gathering and interpreting extant data sources to test the preceding hypotheses. Following are examples of the kinds of data sources which you might gather: (1) copies of school newpapers during a one year period, (2) minutes from the meetings of two or three important and representative student organizations, (3) a copy of the school handbook or book or regulations, (4) copies of bulletins issued to students by the principal's office. Before doing this assignment you should take time to identify the widest possible kinds of sources of extant data that are relevant to your hypotheses.

PART C: BUREAUCRATIC AND PARTICIPANT POLITICAL SYSTEMS

As discussed previously, political resources and activities can be related in different ways to form different types of political systems. In Unit One of this course, a coalitional political system model is discussed. In Unit Two, an elite political system model is discussed. In this unit, you have an opportunity to learn about two other political system types -- the bureaucratic model and the participant model.

Activity C-1: Participant and Bureaucratic Political System Models

Following are descriptions of two different political system models: the participant model and the bureaucratic model. Try to apply these models to the two sets of extant data about Parkview High School and Malcolm X High School on pages 83 to 88 and 102 to 112. Use these data and the following models to answer these two questions:

1. In which of these schools are the patterns of political resources and activities more like those in a participant system? Explain.
2. In which of these schools are the patterns of political resources and activities more like those in a bureaucratic systems? Explain.

The Participant Political System Model

No one is in a position to coerce others in a participant system. Those who want a particular decision to be made must convince others of the merits of the decision. They cannot force compliance. Those who desire to have influence in a given situation must use knowledge, experience, skill in human relations, etc., to persuade others to follow them. Different groups are likely to take the lead in different situations. Every group in the system is in a position to have direct influence on every other group.

In a participant system, political resources are shared by many people and most people can participate effectively and extensively in the system. Thus, each group in the system, has the same potential to influence important decisions about giving or withholding important things.

Decisions are made according to a consensus rule in a participant system. In leadership, merit is what counts, not naked power.

Merit-based leadership is the exact opposite of the coercive leadership of an elite system. Merit-based leaders must show that they have some special resource that is needed by others in order for the group to reach a common objective. Thus, leadership in a situation is based on merit, some special talent or knowledge of the leader, not on force.

In a group which practices merit-based leadership, there is very much reciprocity between leaders and followers who are able to influence one another. Followers have the capability to make demands on leaders and to resist or replace leaders who don't have the ability to help the group to achieve its objectives.

In a group which practices a merit-based leadership style, political resources are distributed rather widely. Different individuals can take turns playing the roles of leaders and followers. Leadership often shifts with the situation. No one has the power to be leader all the time. Those who lead do so by full consent of their followers.

Followers have important responsibilities in a group which uses merit-based leadership. Followers must be able to interact with leaders to set and achieve objectives. They must be able to express their needs clearly, to take part in decision-making, to contribute to the enforcement of decisions. If followers can't assume these responsibilities, then a merit-based leadership style can't be used effectively.

In a participant system, communication is de-centralized and there is much reciprocity between individuals.

In summary, most political activities are carried out by many people in a participant system.

The Bureaucratic Political System Model

A main feature of a bureaucratic political system is that individuals and groups at higher levels are in a position to dominate those at lower levels. Political influence flows directly from the top to the bottom levels of the system. In this way the bureaucratic system is similar to the elite system.

However, both within and between levels in the system, groups are in a position to influence one another. In addition, those at lower levels may sometimes (if not usually) be able to influence directly those at the next higher levels in the system. In these ways, the bureaucratic pattern is quite different from the elite pattern.

Leadership in a bureaucratic system is based on authority. Those in higher positions command respect from those in lower positions. This respect may stem from various qualitities of the higher status people. For example, it may result from ties of affection, or from the superior knowledge, moral beliefs, or income of the respected person or group. Those in higher positions in the system have more to say about the giving or withholding of important things than do those who hold lower positions.

The control of leaders in a bureaucratic system is based to a great extent on the laws and customs of the group. It is considered "right" that the leader should have a great amount of control over followers. However, to maintain control, the leaders must conform to the rules of the group as fully as the followers do. Otherwise, the "right" or authority to lead can be lost.

Authoritative leadership involves an unequal resource distribution. The leaders are able to use their control of resources to mobilize the followers, who have fewer resources.

Authoritative leadership involves little reciprocity between leaders and followers in communication and influence. However, followers are able to make demands on leaders occasionally. Effective communication can be channeled from followers to leaders from time to time, especially demands that help to keep the leader-follower relationship within the rules of the group.

In summary, patterns of political resources are stratified across groups of people and most political activities are carried out by people according to their positions in the system.

Which of these hypotheses is supported by the data on pages 83 to 88 and 102 to 112.

1. The patterns of political resources and activities at Parkview High School are more like those in the participant political system model than like those in the bureaucratic model.
2. The patterns of political resources and activities at Parkview High School are more like those in the bureaucratic political system model than like those in the participant model.
3. The patterns of political resources and activities at Malcolm X High School are more like those in the participant political system model than like those in the bureaucratic model.
4. The patterns of political resources and activities at Malcolm X High School are more like those in the bureaucratic political system model than like those in the participant model.

Answer these questions about similarities and differences in four different political system models.

1. In which system do the fewest people have the most political resources?

   _____elite _____bureaucratic _____coalitional _____participant

2. In which system are most people involved in important political activities?

   _____elite _____bureaucratic _____coalitional _____participant

3. In which system are political resources distributed unevenly but widely across different people?

   _____elite _____bureaucratic _____coalitional _____participant

4. In which of these systems are the patterns of political resources and activities more similar to the patterns of political resources and activities in an elite system?

   _____bureaucratic _____coalitional _____participant

5. In which of these pairs of systems are the patterns of political resources and activities most different?

   _____elite participant _____elite coalitional _____bureaucratic participant

   _____bureaucratic coalitional

6. The patterns of political resources and activities in a bureaucratic political system are <u>more similar</u> to the patterns in which of these two systems?

   _____coalitional _____participant

Activity C-2: Political Life in an Indian Village

Following are case materials about a village in India. Apply your knowledge of different political system models to the analysis of these materials.

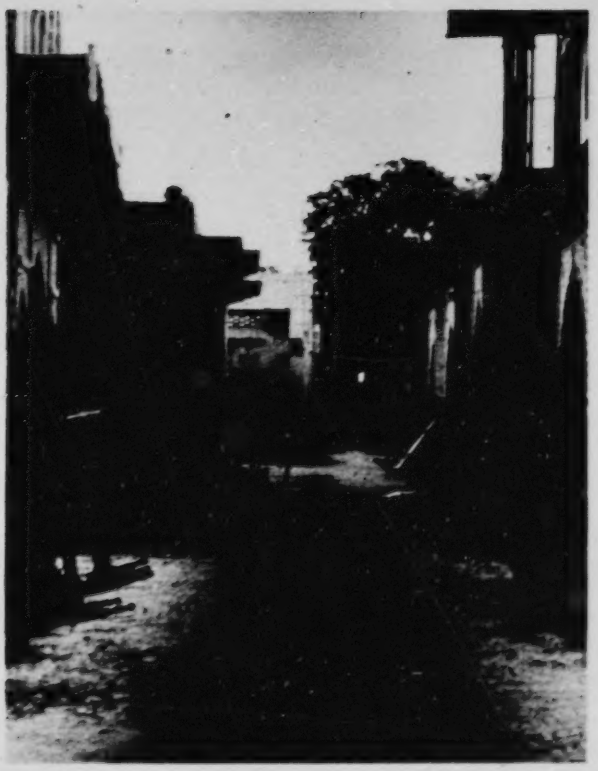
There are many small, rural villages in India. Chhatera is one of them. About 20 miles north of New Delhi, the capitol of India, the village is isolated. People are far removed from the busy city streets and the huge buildings marking change and industrial growth. Most of Chhatera's people are farmers. They grow sugarcane and wheat to eat and to send to nearby markets. They live their lives simply and are proud to be part of their village community.

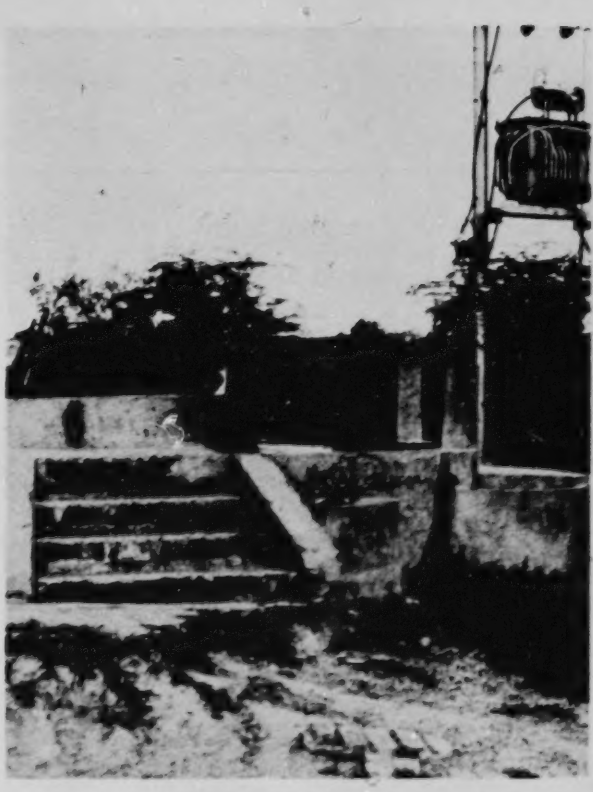
They should be proud. Chhaterans have done a lot together to improve their lives. They have helped to build a new bridge over the large storm drain which separates them from city markets. They have built a school and a new road to take their products to the train station nearby. They have all worked on these plans, and their labor has paid off. Their farm products bring better prices because they can market them more easily. Their lines of communication with other villages and the city of New Delhi have improved.

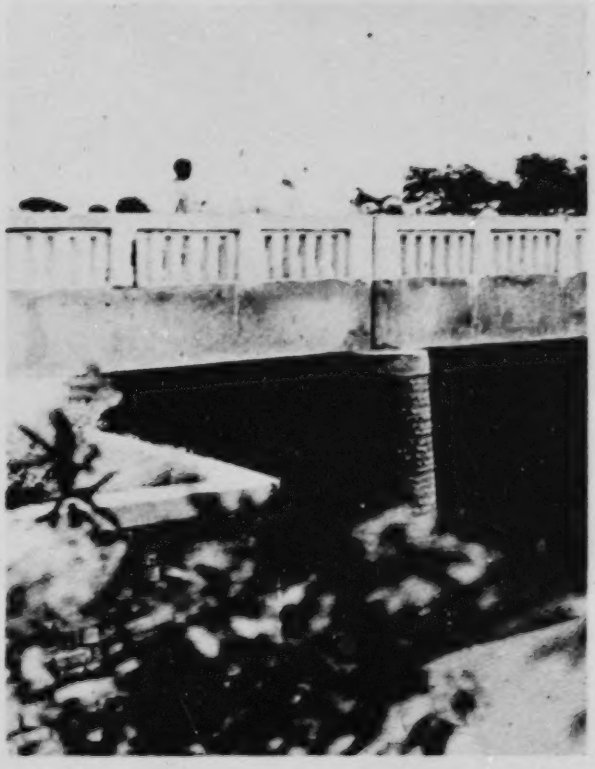
Following is a script for a slide-tape program. That is, a set of picture slides with an accompanying audio-tape. This program presents information about various aspects of life in Chhatera, including facts about the political life of this village. Your teacher will show the slide-tape and conduct a discussion about it.

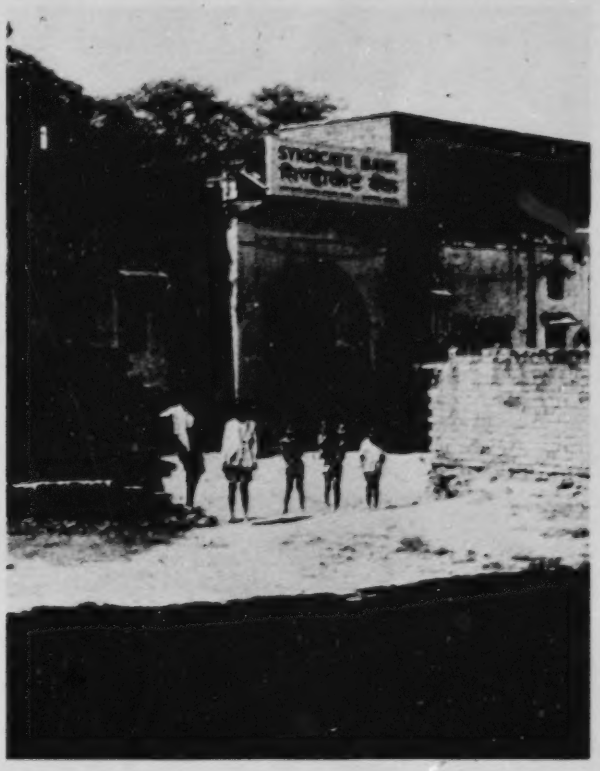
Chhatera
New Dehli
Jumna
Gogra
Ganges
Calcutta
I N D I A
Bombay
Madras

CHHATERA SCENES









Slide-Tape Script: Chhatera, A Village in India

Pictures	Narration
1. Title Slide	Title: Chhatera, A Village in India
2. Credits Slide	Credits and Copyright
3. Chhatera street scene	There are thousands of small, rural villages in India such as Chhatera.
4. Map of India highlighting the location of Chhatera	Chhatera is located in Northern India, about twenty miles north of New Delhi, the capitol city of India.
5. Village data on wall	The writing on this wall tells us that Chhatera is located in the state of Haryana and in the district of Sonepat. The writing also tells us that there are 151 houses and more than 1,300 people in the village.
6. Three Hindu women	Most of the people of Chhatera are Hindus, or members of the major religious and social group in India.
7. Sign with English and Hindi words	They speak the Hindi language. The words in the middle of this sign are written in Hindi. As you might have guessed the Hindi words say "Syndicate Bank."
8. Main street scene	A paved main street runs through the middle of Chhatera.
9. Upper-caste house	Houses belonging to higher caste families stand on the main street.
10. Close-up of upper-caste house	Some of these homes are ornate, with interesting gables, cornices, balconies, and murals.

11. Harijan Houses	The houses of the Harijans, the lowest caste, are at the rear of the village. These homes have mud walls and stand together in neat rows beside a dirt street.
12. Diagram of the concept of caste	Castes are exclusive social groupings based on tradition. According to custom, some groups are ranked higher than others and have more privileges than others.
13. Brahmans playing cards	The Brahmans are the top caste.
14. Jats Smoking	The Jats are a middle-level caste made-up of land-holding farmers. The Jats are a very numerous and important group in villages such as Chhatera, where most people make their living by farming or jobs related to farming.
15. Harijan neighborhood	The Harijans are the lowest caste in Chhatera. They have tended to do menial jobs, which no one else has wanted to do.
16. Brahman Well	The traditional distinctions between lower and higher castes is shown by the different village wells. Upper-caste people, such as the Brahmans have used this well. The Harijans, the lowest caste, were not able to use the well.
17. Harijan Well	Village custom requires the Harijans to use their own well.
18. Chhatera well next to old cart	During the past twenty-five years, the caste system has begun to breakdown in many parts of India. Lower caste people have been gaining more opportunities. What a person can do is becoming more important than the caste into which she or his is born.

19.	Old cart next to telephone pole	The weakening of tradition associated with the caste system is one of many changes taking place in Chhatera.
20.	Classroom scene	People of all castes now have more opportunity to go to school. The foundation stone of this elementary school was laid in 1956.
21.	Children studying under a tree	While the school building was being built, children learned their lessons under the shade of trees in an "open air school."
22.	School building	The elementary school building was completed in 1958.
23.	School building	During the 1960's a middle school building was added. Now everyone in the village can complete eight grades of school.
24.	Classroom scene	All youngsters in the village, from upper and lower caste families, can learn to read.
25.	Children working math problems	The children of Brahman, Jat, and Harijan families can learn math skills.
26.	Child being punished	Children who break rules may get punished. This eighth grader must stand in a stooped position for several minutes. His classmates seem amused by his punishment.
27.	Students leaving school	These students are leaving school at 1:00 in the afternoon. They arrived at 7:00 in the morning. During the hottest months of the year, it is too hot to go to school in the middle of the afternoon.

28. Bank	The new school is only one of many basic changes in Chhatera that offer more opportunities for a better life. In 1970, a branch of the Syndicate Bank was opened. More than 90% of the adults in Chhatera now have deposits in this bank.
29. Tractor in front of bank	These deposits have been used to provide financial help to farmers, craftsmen, and businessmen. Farmers have been given loans to buy tractors and other modern farm tools.
30. Soybean field	Loans have been used to experiment with new crops and new methods of farming.
31. Close-up of soybeans	In 1974, the first experimental soybean crop was harvested. Now the villagers have a new cash crop.
32. Banker and vetinarian	Village craftsmen and businessmen also have received helpful loans to improve the service they offer to the village. In this picture, the village vetinarian, the man on the left, is asking the bank manager for a loan to improve his business.
33. Seamstress and sowing machine	Skilled workers, such as tailors and seamstresses, also have used bank loans to buy new equipment, such as sewing machines.
34. Methane gas plant	In the 1970's a factory producing methane gas was launched with a loan from the village bank.
35. Woman cooking	Now people are able to cook their meals over gas ovens.

36. Bridge over canal

Chhatera's new bridge, built in 1969, is a very visible reminder of change. This bridge spans a canal, which is used to systematically irrigate farmland and increase crop yields.

37. Canal

38. Bridge as a link in the road to New Delhi

The bridge also is an important link in a new road which connects Chhatera to the nearby big city, New Delhi. This modern road gives the villagers an easy way to send their crops to the big city market during all parts of the year, even during the rainy season when dirt roads are turned into impassable muddy quagmires.

39. Nurse treating patients

Improved health care is another very visable change in Chhatera. Since 1975, a nurse has been on hand to give shots, dispense medicine, and offer advice about how to keep well.

40. Diagram of village government

Leadership in bringing new benefits and opportunities to Chhatera has come from the village Panchayat. The Panchayat is a village council of five elected representatives. It is the basic unit of local government throughout India.

41. Diagram of Panchayat Membership

In Chhatera one seat on the Panchayat is reserved for a woman and one is reserved for a member of the Harijan caste. The other three members of the Panchayat usually are male members of the Brahman or Jat castes.

42.	Voters	These representatives are elected to the Panchayat through elections held every four years. All adults in the village have the right to vote in these elections.
43.	Statement of Panchayat duties	Main duties of the Panchayat are to make laws for the village, to settle disputes between villagers. to promote the economic development of the village, and to carry-out laws of the state and national governments.
44.	Panchayat members	The people in the foreground were members of the Chhatera Panchayat in 1974.
45.	Sarpanch	The primary leader of the village government is the Sarpanch, who is shown here greeting three visitors to his village. The Sarpanch is an elected member of the Panchayat, who is chosen by the other members to be their chairman.
46.	Slide #40 again-diagram of village government	The Gram Sabha is another basic institution of village government. It includes every adult of the village. The Gram Sabha is supposed to meet at least once every six months. It may meet more often if a majority of the village adults ask for a meeting.
47.	Statement of duties of Gram Sabha	The main duties of the Gram Sabha are to be a check on the Panachayat and to provide a place for villagers to air their demands and gripes.

48. Street scene

During the past twenty-five years Chhatera has been a village on the move. In the 1950's it was a sleepy hamlet of mud, mortar, and brick. There were hardly any facilities for educational, medical care, or modern methods of farming. The people lived in a small, backward world of their own, cut-off from the rest of India.

49. Street scene

Today, Chhatera is a changing, developing village with links to the outside world through radio, television and the modern road to New Delhi.

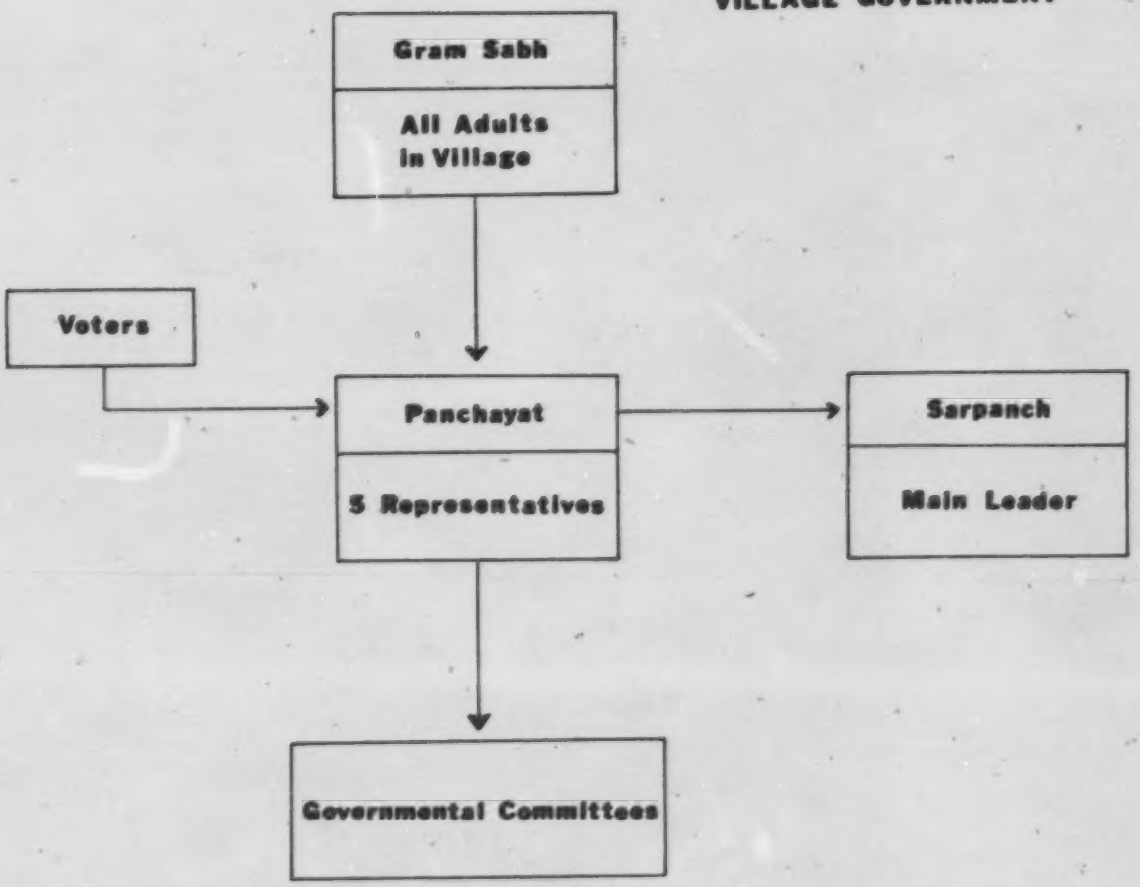
50. Old man

Chhaterans are confident that they can continue to improve their way of life.

51. Question about political life

Based on what you've seen and heard in this program, what hypothesis might you make about the political life of this village?

VILLAGE GOVERNMENT



Case Studies of Political Life in Chhatera

Following are five case studies of political life in Chhatera. Use information in these cases to support and/or reject the hypotheses you made in response to the slide-tape program about Chhatera.

Case One: The Village Election*

On June 29, 1971, 470 of the 535 registered voters in Chhatera went to the pools to elect representatives to their Panchayat. These village council elections take place once every four years. This election was particularly interesting, because Bhim Kaur, a female, was a candidate.

Normally, women in the villages of the state of Haryana do not run for election. Rather, the law provides that a woman shall be appointed for a seat on the village council by the elected members of the Panchayat. This was the first time a female had run for public office in Chhatera.

In addition to Bhim Kaur, eight men were candidates for the Panchayat. Of these candidates two were Brahmans, four were Jats, and two were Harijans. The candidates were split evenly between two rival political groups. That is, one Brahman, two Jats, and one Harijan belonged to each of two rival political groups trying to gain control of the Panchayat.

The following three persons belonging to the victorious group won: (1) Partap Singh (Jat), 82 votes, (2) Pandit Pooran Singh, (Brahman) 62 votes; (3) Atar Singh (Harijan) 55 votes. Of the rival group, the following two candidates won: (1) Chandgi Ram (Jat) 64 votes and (2) Harduari Lal (Jat) 62 votes.

Bhim Kaur received only four votes.

One week after the election, the new Panchayat representatives met to select a Sarpanch, or primary leader. They elected Partap Singh by

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*This case is based on an article in the Hindustan Times, July 6, 1971.

a vote of 3 to 2. Bhim Kaur was selected as the female representative to the Panchayat.

Case Two: The Village Speaks*

Chhatera has a very active village council, called a Panchayat. There are six regular members in the Panchayat. Five are elected by the vote of all the villagers. One female member is selected by the other members of the Panchayat. It is the Panchayat that makes and approves the projects which make the villagers so proud.

Panchayat meetings occur often, and any villager can come and join a discussion. In September, 1971 a great many villagers came to talk about the new middle school they were building. It seemed that everyone had not paid his/her share of the money necessary to finish the building. Construction had stopped and the villagers were unhappy.

The issue of collection of money for the middle school was put on the agenda by the Sarpanch, or head of the Panchayat. Everyone knew about the issue because the agenda had been ciruclated in advance. When the meeting was called to order, the room was filled with villagers. Sube Singh, the man in charge of collecting funds, announced that 1600

*This case is based on an article in the Hindustan Times, September 7, 1971.

rupees had yet to be collected. He began to read the names of those who had not contributed. "Ram Niwas Gupta..." Ram Gupta was a proud man. He rose from the group and said "I am extremely sorry for the delay in the payment of my dues. My apologies to the village." And he took out 150 rupees and handed them to Sube Singh. The audience returned a standing ovation and soon many others were making their payments.

But what about people who were absent? How would money be collected from them? The room buzzed with talk and suggestions. Finally, someone said that the school fund committee should collect the money using whatever means they needed. Everyone in the group agreed. It was unanimously decided that the school fund committee should have full authority to resolve the problem.

The villagers left the meeting happy. The money would be collected and the middle school would be finished. Not all Panchayat decisions would be resolved this easily, but the villagers would always have a voice and would give their full support once a decision had been made.

Case Three: The Road to Prosperity*

Ratan Singh is the Sarpanch, or primary leader, in the village of Chhatera, India. As Sarpanch, he has the obligation to guide the people of the village toward achievement of common goals.

Often Ratan Singh leads both by example and by skillful representation of the common interests of the village community. Consider his role in the building of the "road to prosperity."

A main source of income in Chhatera stemmed from selling large amounts of vegetablesto the people in Delhi, a nearby big city. However, the first mile of the road from Chhatera to Delhi was a barrier to prosperity. This

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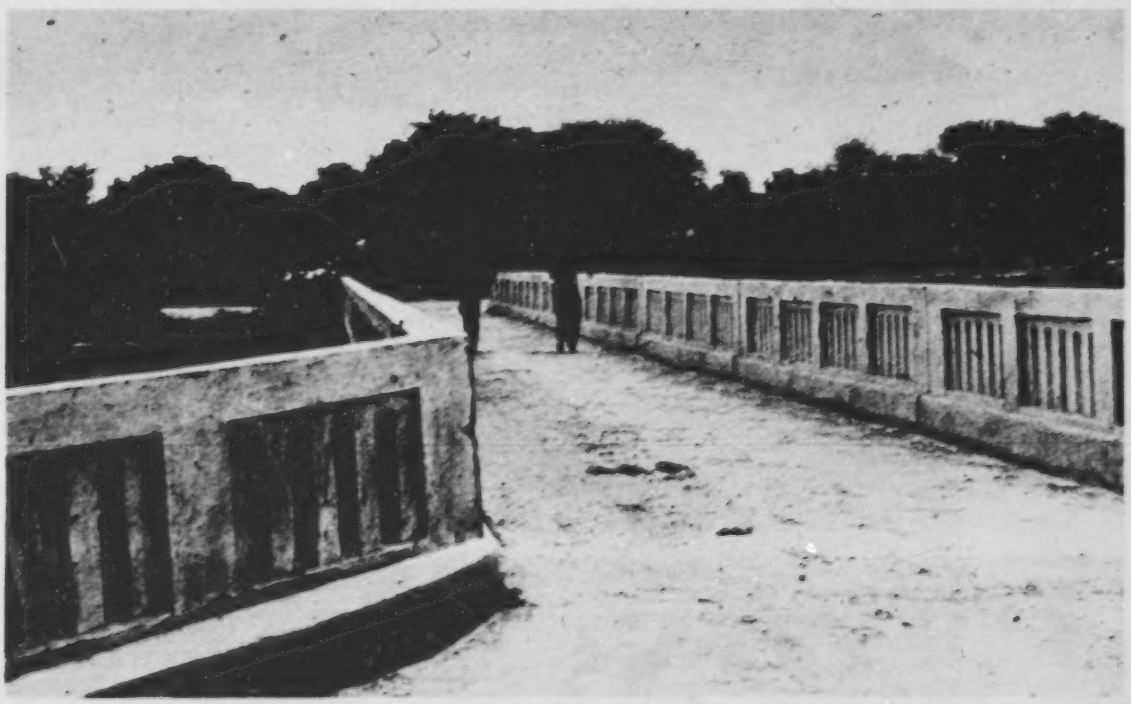
*This case is based on an article in the Hindustan Times, February 20, 1970.

part of the highway was a primitive, dirt road that was impassable during the rainy season, nearly four months long. Thus, for one-third of a year, the villagers were unable to earn money by shipping their produce to Delhi.

The solution to their problem was to rebuild the first mile of the road to Delhi so that they could ship their vegetables to Delhi the year around. But rebuilding a road would take much time and energy. How could Ratan Singh, who believed strongly in the importance of building a new road, convince others to give their time and energy to this project.

The Sarpanch called a meeting, Ratan Singh declared that he would be the first to lift a shovel and work on the construction of the new road that would help everyone in the village to live a better life. Would others donate their time and energy for the good of the community?

Everyone at the meeting agreed that one man from each family should join the Sarpanch in working on their new road. The word was spread throughout the village and the next day over sixty men were working on the road



Case Four: The TV Debate*

The older folks in Chhatera were disturbed. According to them, the young people of the village were spending too much time watching television, which had been introduced to the village recently.

"The films and songs are corrupting our children," said Pyare Lal to Ratan Singh, the village Sarpanch, or main leader.

"It is eating into the children's study hours. Do you want our children to grow up as loafers. Please take our TV set away," complained Pyare Lal.

The adults were especially concerned that the young people would learn new ideas from television programs that would turn them away from traditional beliefs and customary ways of doing things.

The young people of Chhatera disagreed with the elders about the value of television. They argued that the TV was a "window on the world" which brought important new ideas to the village.

"Television is the best thing that has happened to us," said O.P. Gupta, a spokesman for the young people in the village. Gupta argued to Ratan Singh that television programs had helped young people to learn important knowledge and skills that could be learned no other way. He pointed out that "the standard of achievement in science subjects has gone up since TV arrived."

The "TV debate" between the older and younger folk of the village continued for several weeks. Finally, the conflict came to a head during a public meeting of village residents. During this meeting the arguments for daily television watching were presented by several young people

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*This case is based on an article in the Hindustan Times, October 6, 1970.

including O.P. Gupta. Pyare Lal and several other oldsters countered with their arguments that television-watching should be limited to a few hours a week in order to protect the morals of the young, to preserve village traditions, and to keep the attention of youngsters focused on school work and their duties to their families and the village.

The "TV debate" was quite "hot" when the calming voice of Ratan Singh prevailed over the shouting. He said: "If there are any differences over a few programs on TV, the representative of the two viewpoints can sit together and sort it out." He urged that "there is something to be said for both sides."

During the next few days, Ratan Singh worked to bring the two sides in the "TV debate" together. Many people, younger and older, voiced their ideas about how to make an agreement that could satisfy everyone and restore harmony to the village.

After much talk and thought,everyone agreed that the TV set would be turned off on Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays. It could be used on other days. Not permitting TV watching on Saturday especially pleased some of the elders, since on this day programs with "vulgar song-and-dance sequences," were shown. Now the young folk would not be corrupted by watching them. Some of the young people were disappointed about the decision, but they agreed to accept it for the good of the community.

Case Five: Spreading the Word in The Village*

In Chhatera everyone has an opportunity to know about the political activities of the village. Before meetings are called to settle disputes or to decide policies, people talk to one another about "what's up," "who's involved," and "why?". Through everyday conversation, the "word is spread" throughout the village. The dispute over land between Prahlad Singh and Khen Chand is one among many examples of how the word is spread about political issues.

Prahlad Singh and Khem Chand are first cousins, who had a conflict over how to divide a 150 square yard plot of land in the western corner of Chhatera. Their quarrel created very bad feelings between the Singh family and their friends and the Chand family and their friends.

As the conflict became more bitter, the people of the village began to talk about it daily. Many villagers asked members of the Gram Sabha to settle the conflict "before it got out of hand and caused too much hard feeling between people who should cooperate with each other."

The Gram Sabha is a group that is expected to help settle conflicts between people in the village. It included the village elders who are respected for their age and experience.

The Gram Sabha met with Singh and Chand several times to try to help them settle their dispute. At the end of their series of meetings, Singh and Chand agreed to a settlement of their dispute. Everyone seemed happy about the agreement.

However, in a short time, the feud erupted again. Khem Chand

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*This case is based on an article in the Hindustan Times, September 22, 1973

charged that Singh was "not living-up to his part of the agreement." Prahland Singh replied that Chand was at fault. The men and their families started hurling ugly threats at one another. Once again their conflict was the "talk of the village."

Most people in Chhatera believed that the Chand-Singh feud had "gone too far." Many people came to the Gram Sabha and asked the group to try again to settle the feud. But this time, they urged, act more forcefully.

Once again the members of the Gram Sabha urged Chand and Singh to meet with them to settle their dispute. To add authority to the forthcoming meeting, the elders from two nearby villages, Majra and Khedi, were asked to attend.

This big meeting of the elders and the disputants started at 4:00 p.m. and lasted until midnight. Everyone who wished to speak in any way about the dispute was allowed to talk. Friends and relatives of Singh and Chand had their say. Finally, after much carping, a consensus was reached in the group about how to settle the Chand-Sign feud.

This time the agreement was written. One copy was given to Chand. Another copy was given to Singh. Another copy was kept by the Gram Sabha.

The terms of this written agreement were communicated to everyone in the village. It was expected that the weight of village opinion could be used to pressure both Chand and Singh to comply with the terms of their written agreement.

Answer these questions about the Chhatera case materials.

1. Can you identify examples of the following kinds of political activities in these cases?

   a. political decision-making

   b. political leadership

   c. political communication

   d. political participation

2. Which of the following is the best description of the pattern of political activities in Chhatera?

   a. Most important political activities are carried out by a small group.

   b. Most political activities are carried out by people according to whether they have higher or lower level positions in the system.

   c. Most political activities are carried out by many people.

3. Which of these hypotheses are supported by data in the Chhatera case materials? Explain.

   a. The patterns of political resources and activities are more like those in the participant political system model than like those in the other three system models in this course.

   b. The patterns of political resources and activities are more like those in the bureaucratic political system model than like those in the other three system models in this course.

   c. The patterns of political resources and activities are more like those in the coalitional political system model than like those in the other three system models in this course.

d. The patterns of political resources and activities are more like those in the elite political system model than like those in the other three system models in this course.

4. What additional data about Chhatera could you use in order to continue to test the preceding hypotheses?

5. How could you gather these data?

6. What do you like most about the political system in Chhatera? Why?

7. What do you like least about the political system in Chhatera? Why?

Activity C-3: Politics in an International Organization

On April 4, 1949, representatives of twelve nations met in Washington, D.C. to sign the North Atlantic Treaty. The twelve nations were Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, the United Kingdom, and the United States. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) was born. Turkey and Greece were admitted to NATO in February, 1952 and the Federal Republic of West Germany in May, 1956. (The map on page 142 shows the locations of the NATO members.)

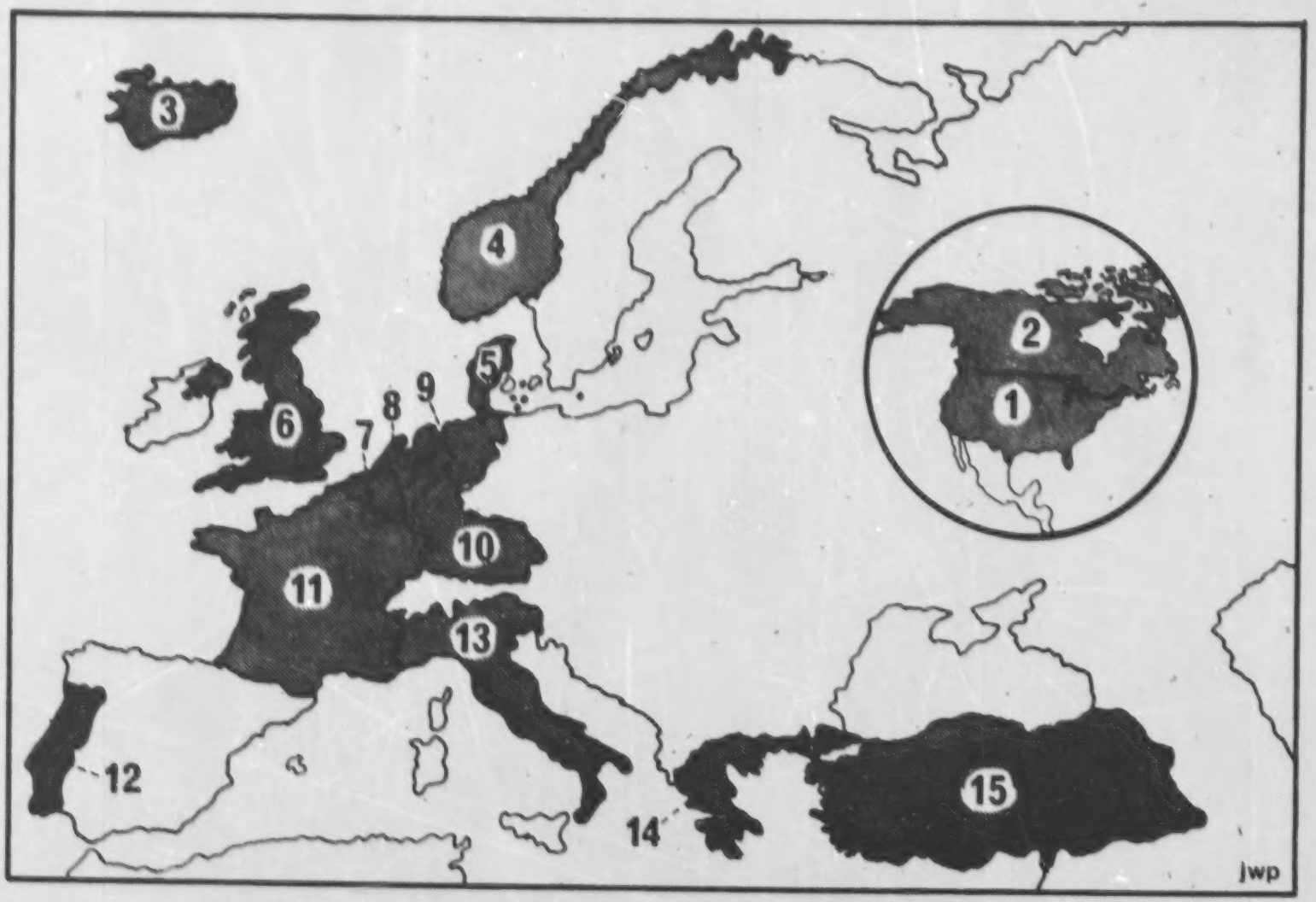
The NATO was formed to protect Western Europe against domination by the Soviet Union. At the end of World War II, in 1945, the Soviet Union loomed as the overwhelming military power in Europe. This power was used to control the political reorganization of the countries of Eastern Europe: Poland, Czechoslavokia, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, Albania, and Yugoslavia. We do not know whether the Soviet leaders planned to try to win control of Western Europe. Nonetheless, the leaders of many of these nations felt threatened and looked to the United States of America for help in finding a way to stand-up to Soviet pressures. The result was the formulation of NATO.

Main Features of the Treaty

Here are the main features of the North Atlantic Treaty:

1. An armed attack against one member is to be considered an attack against all. Each member promised to help other members in the event of an attack and to help other members to keep up their ability to resist attacks.

2. Members promised to consult with one another whenever any one of them believes that the territory, independence, or security of a member is threatened.



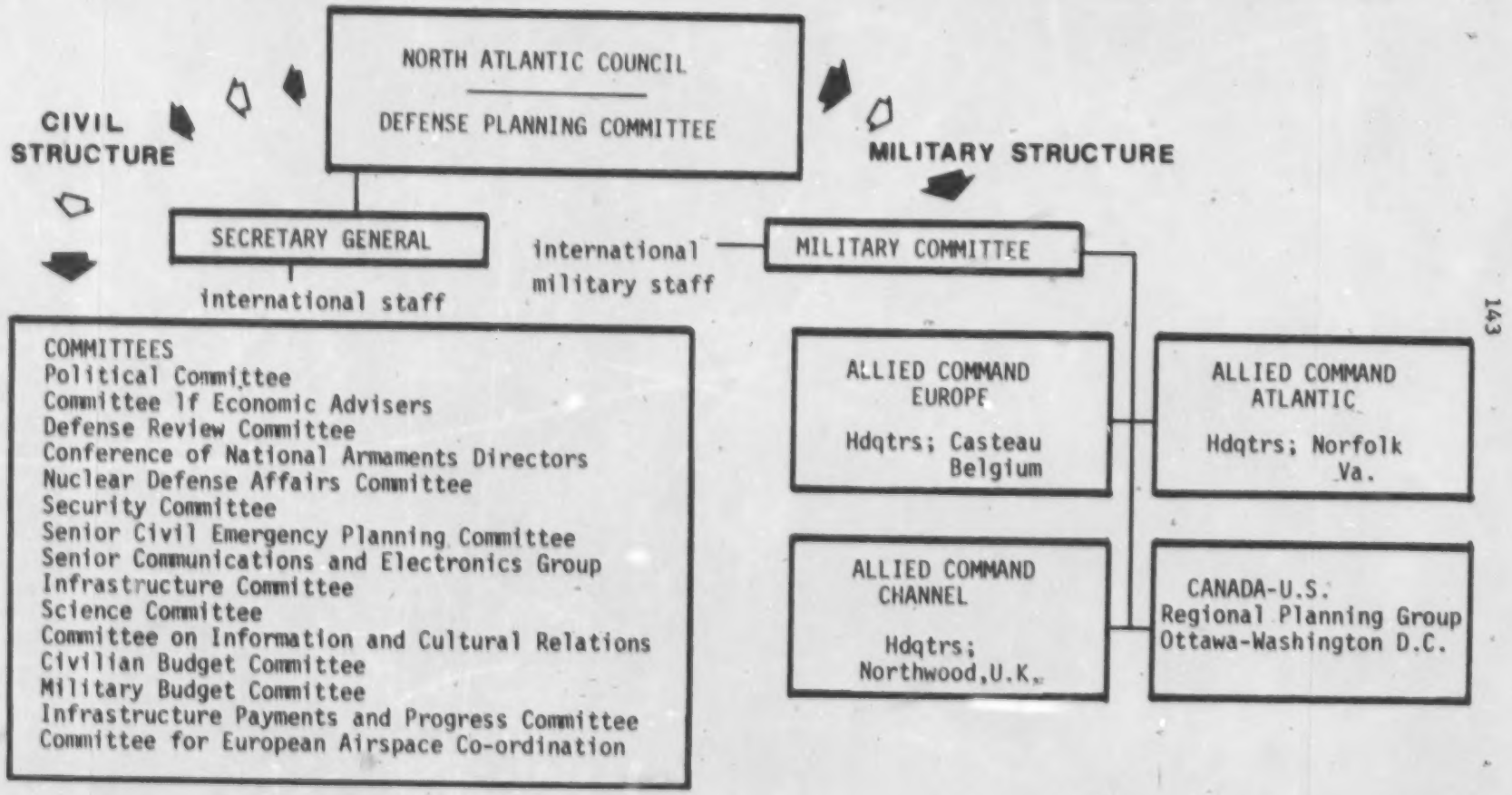
NATO

1. UNITED STATES
2. CANADA
3. ICELAND
4. NORWAY
5. DENMARK
6. U.K.
7. BELGIUM
8. NETHERLANDS
9. LUXEMBOURG
10. W. GERMANY
11. FRANCE*
12. PORTUGAL
13. ITALY
14. GREECE
15. TURKEY

* Military forces withdrawn, 1966

DIAGRAM 4: THE STRUCTURE OF NATO

the structure of *nato*



3. Members agreed to establish a council, now known as the North Atlantic Council, to deal with matters involved in carrying out the Treaty. This council was given power to create lesser groups to assist it in doing its work.

4. NATO is not meant to be an organization to which the members surrender their rights as fully sovereign, or independent nations.

Organizational Structure and Rules

The organizational structure of NATO is shown on the next page.

The main body of NATO is the North Atlantic Council, which includes a representative from each of the member countries. The Council meets twice a week. The presidency of the Council rotates among the members annually.

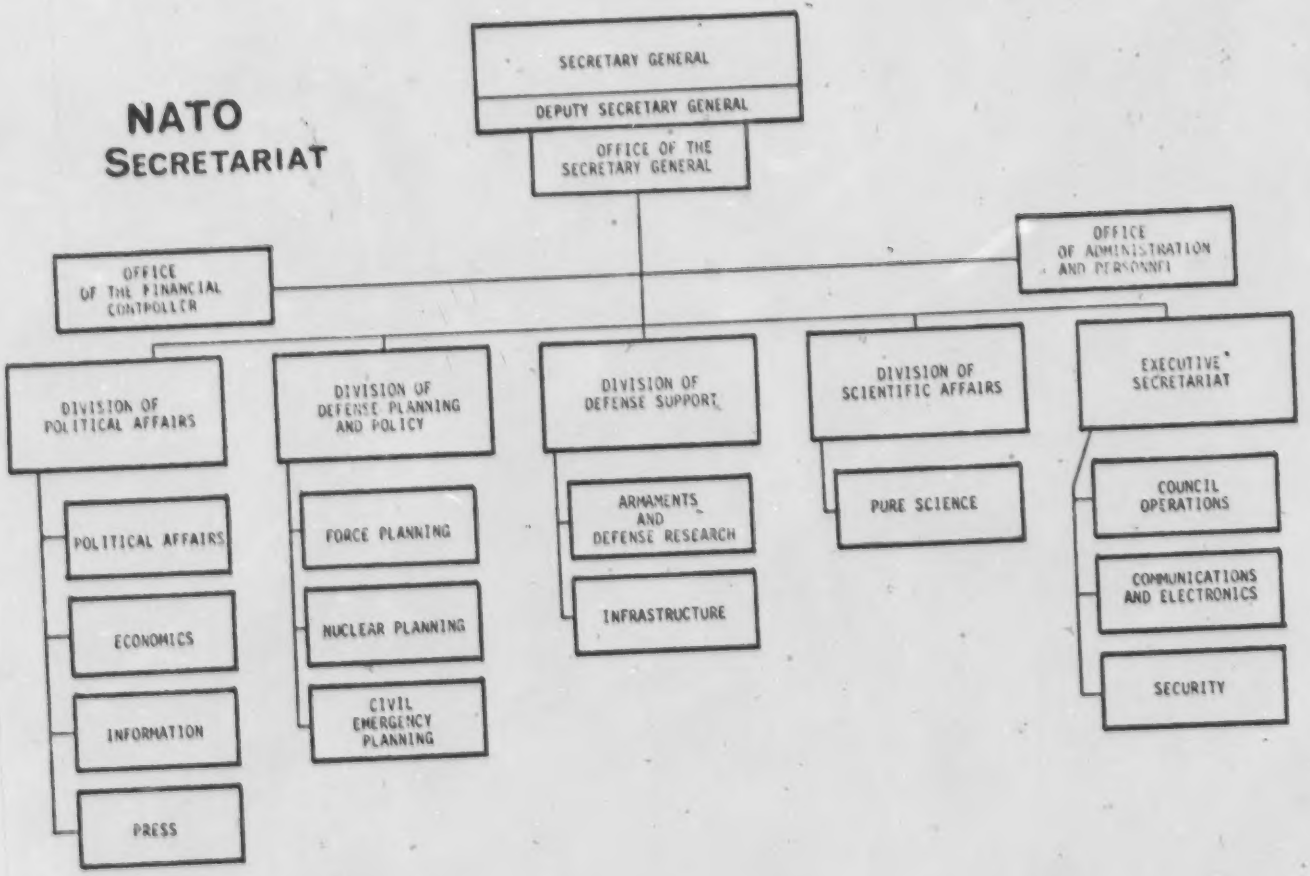
All decisions of the Council are supposed to be made unanimously. If there is strong opposition to a proposal, the matter usually is dropped unless an acceptable compromise can be made.

No decisions of the Council are binding on members. As an independent nation, each member is free to interpret and carry out any decision of the Council as it sees fit.

As the major decision making body of NATO, North Atlantic Council has responsibility for resolving problems about the budget and administration of the organization. It also has the duty of deciding how NATO is to carry out its primary mission - which is to provide security for members against attach by an outside power, in particular, the Soviet Union.

The Secretary General is the chief executive of NATO. (See Diagram 5.) He prepares the agenda for meetings of the North Atlantic Council and is responsible for carrying out decisions of the Council. The secretariat, or international staff, is a set of specialized agencies that assist the Secretary General in implementing the decisions of the Council and in doing the day-

DIAGRAM 5: THE NATO SECRETARIAT



to-day work of NATO.

The Secretary General represents NATO in its dealings with government leaders of member nations and non-member nations and with leaders of other international organizations. The Secretary General serves as the link between the "civil structure" and the "military structure" of NATO. He sees to the coordination of civilian and military affairs and insures that the military command remains subordinate to the civilian leaders of government who are supposed to run NATO through the North Atlantic Council.

The three main facets of the military structure of NATO are shown in Diagrams 6, 7, and 8. Diagram 6 shows the organization of the Allied Command Europe, which has responsibility for the defense of the territory of the European members of NATO. Diagram 7 shows the organization of the Allied Channel Command, which has responsibility for the defense of the English Channel and the United Kingdom of Great Britain. Diagram 8 shows the organization of the Allied Atlantic Command, which has responsibility for defense of the North Atlantic Ocean as a means of protecting the U.S.A. and Canada.

Notice in Diagrams 4 and 9 that these three military command structures are clearly subordinate to the civilian representatives of the North Atlantic Council. The three military commands are responsible to the "Standing Group" of the Military Committee of the North Atlantic Council.
For example, here are the three main duties of the Supreme Allied Command Europe:

1. To organize, train, and equip the North Atlantic forces assigned to his command so as to ensure that they are knit together as a unified force able to carry out the mission of NATO as set by the North Atlantic Council;

2. To prepare and finalize defense plans in terms of guidelines set by the North Atlantic Council;

DIAGRAM 6: THE ALLIED COMMAND EUROPE

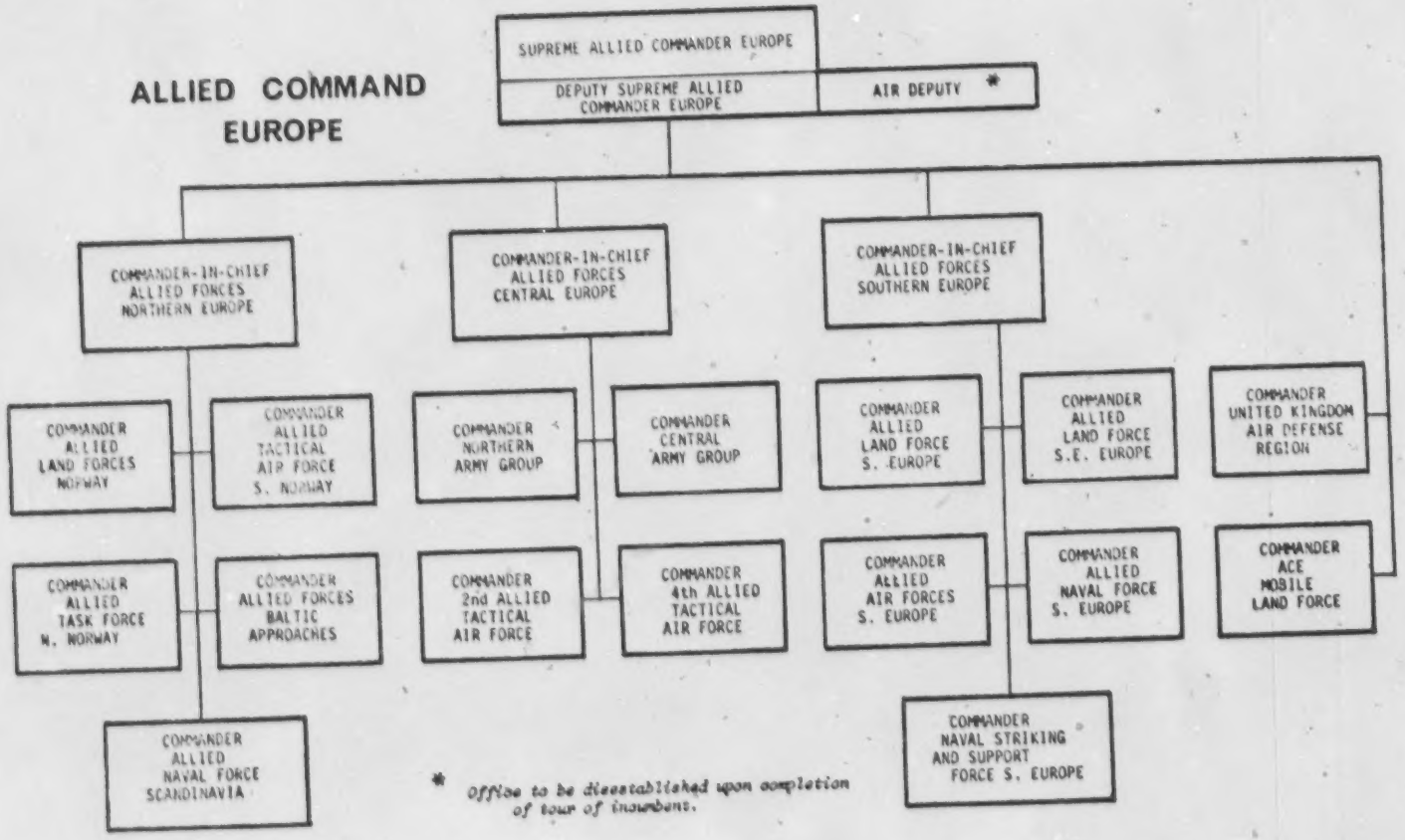

ALLIED COMMAND EUROPE
SUPREME ALLIED COMMANDER EUROPE
DEPUTY SUPREME ALLIED COMMANDER EUROPE
AIR DEPUTY *
COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF ALLIED FORCES NORTHERN EUROPE
COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF ALLIED FORCES CENTRAL EUROPE
COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF ALLIED FORCES SOUTHERN EUROPE
COMMANDER ALLIED LAND FORCES NORWAY
COMMANDER ALLIED TACTICAL AIR FORCE S. NORWAY
COMMANDER ALLIED TASK FORCE N. NORWAY
COMMANDER ALLIED FORCES BALTIC APPROACHES
COMMANDER ALLIED NAVAL FORCE SCANDINAVIA
COMMANDER NORTHERN ARMY GROUP
COMMANDER CENTRAL ARMY GROUP
COMMANDER 2nd ALLIED TACTICAL AIR FORCE
COMMANDER 4th ALLIED TACTICAL AIR FORCE
COMMANDER ALLIED LAND FORCE S. EUROPE
COMMANDER ALLIED LAND FORCE S.E. EUROPE
COMMANDER UNITED KINGDOM AIR DEFENSE REGION
COMMANDER ALLIED AIR FORCES S. EUROPE
COMMANDER ALLIED NAVAL FORCE S. EUROPE
COMMANDER ACE MOBILE LAND FORCE
COMMANDER NAVAL STRIKING AND SUPPORT FORCE S. EUROPE
* Office to be disestablished upon completion of tour of incumbent.

DIAGRAM 7: THE ALLIED COMMAND ATIANTIC

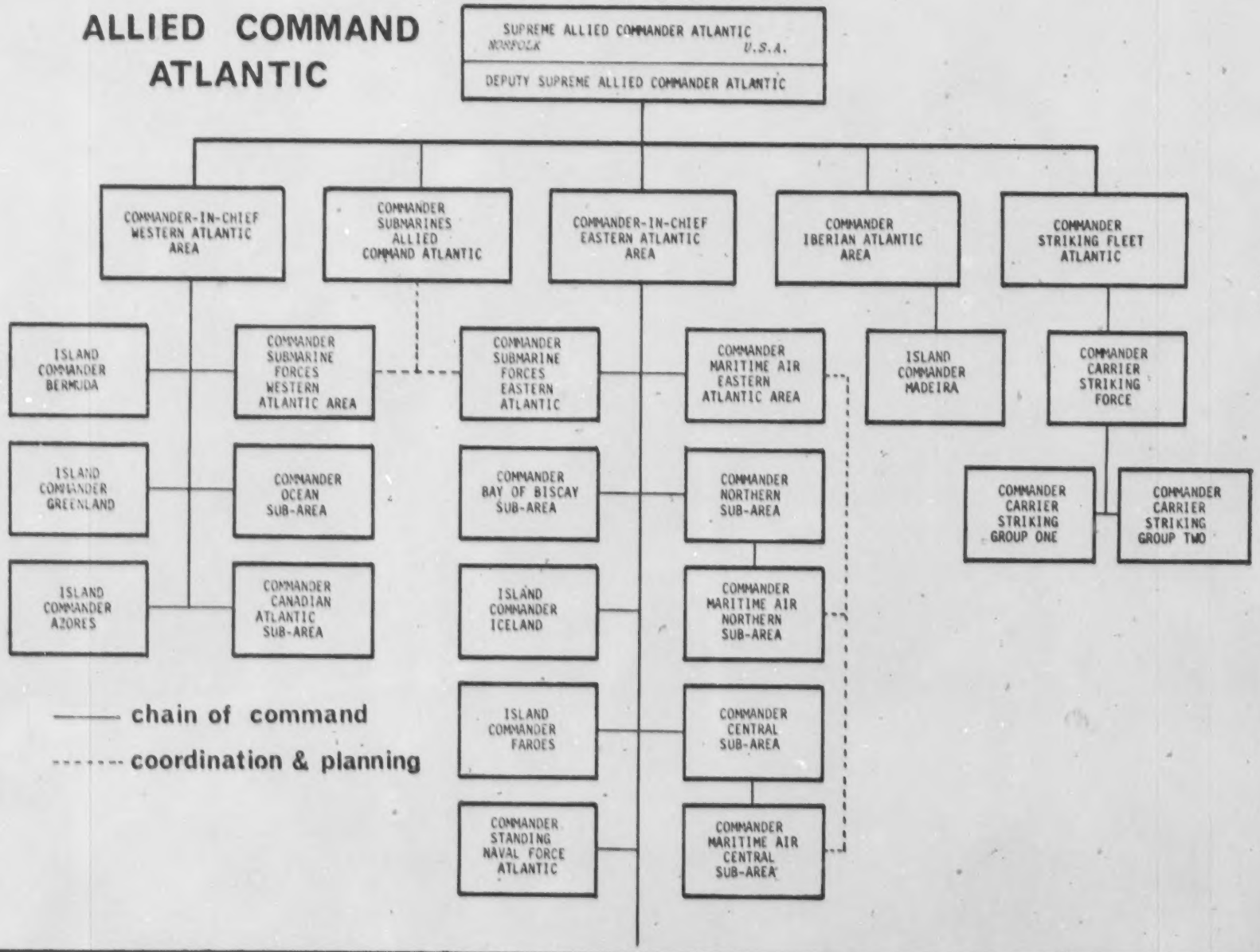


DIAGRAM 8: THE ALLIED COMMAND CHANNEL

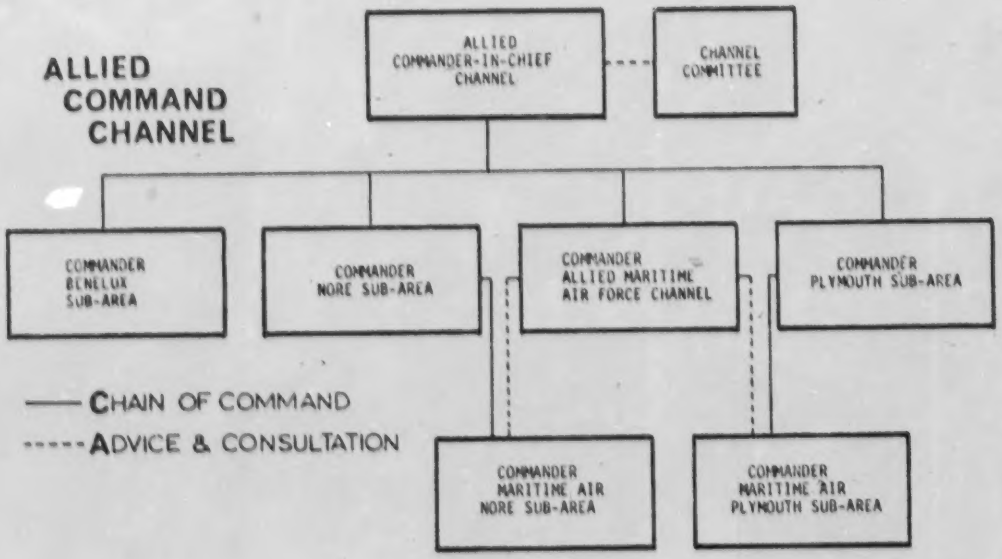
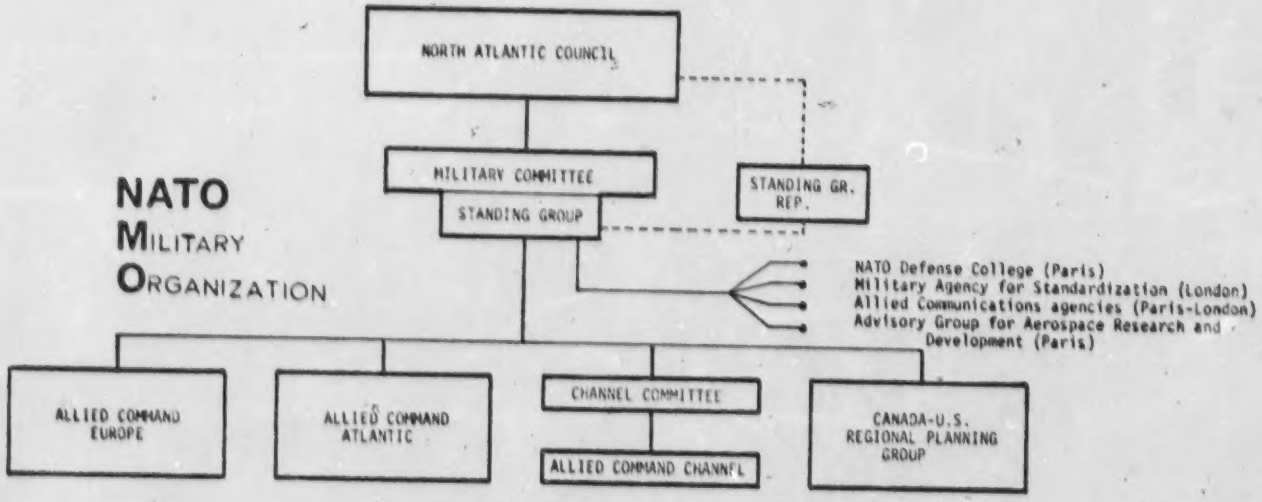


DIAGRAM 9: NATO MILITARY ORGANIZATION



3. To make recommendations to the "Standing Group" about the training, equipping, and support of his forces and about any other military questions relevant to his mission.

Factors of Influence

The formal decision rule in the North Atlantic Council is decided by consensus, or unanimous consent. According to the formal rules, one nation may veto, or block a decision. While the appearances of a consensus decision rule are observed, the actual practice of decision making is quite different. On these most important decisions, a plurality decision rule tends to operate. Occasionally an elite decision rule seems to function.

Representatives of the U.S.A., the United Kingdom, France, and West Germany have tended to be the dominant members of the North Atlantic Council. The resources of these four members vastly outweigh the resources of other member nations. In particular, the resources of the U.S.A. are greater than those of all other NATO nations combined. For example, the 300,000,000 West Europeans produce only half as many goods and services and can afford to spend only one-fifth as much on their defense as 220,000,000 Americans. These four NATO members with the most resources often can have their way in the Council despite the disagreement of other members. Occasionally, the U.S.A. has had its way despite the seeming disagreement of all other members.

One major factor of influence in NATO decision making is the amount of a member's contributions to the NATO defense forces. Those who contribute more are able to have more say about what NATO should do. The following table shows the large contribution of the U.S.A. relative to other members.

One major factor of influence in NATO decision making is the amount of a member's contributions to the NATO defense forces. Those who contribute more are able to have more say about what NATO should do. The following table shows the large contributions of the USA relative to other members.

	Annual Defense Expenditure (in millions of dollars)			
Contributor	1954	1965	1970	1974
1. USA	$42,786	$51,827	$77,854	$84,332
2. All European members	$11,756	$20,606	$24,607	$44,442

Despite its dominant wealth and military power, the USA cannot do anything it wants to do in NATO. For example, in 1966, France withdrew from active participation in the NATO military command (while retaining active membership in other facets of the organization) despite the disapproval of the USA. The USA also was unable to gain acceptance of its proposals of a multilateral nuclear force. In addition, the USA has had to take account of European views in decision making about the use of nuclear weapons. These are merely a few examples among many to indicate that the USA is not in a position to dictate every decision made in NATO.

NATO members with less wealth and military power can often have some influence on decisions through their use of special knowledge and political skill in presenting arguments. If they make a good case for a particular decision, they may influence the four major NATO nations -- France, Great Britain, West Germany, and the USA -- to agree with them.

Following are two case studies of political activity in NATO. Read the cases and answer the questions which follow each case.

Case One: Flexible Response Or Massive Retaliation?

In the spring of 1962, the representative of the USA to the North Atlantic Council proposed a change in policy regarding NATO's response to a possible attack by the Soviet Union. The proposal was to substitute "flexible response" for "massive retaliation." Since 1949, NATO had declared that any Soviet attack in Western Europe would be met with massive retaliation; that is, the USA and its allies would hit back with all their might, -- to the point of using nuclear weapons. In contrast, a policy of flexible response would mean that action taken against more or less strong depending on the scope of the Soviet attack. With a policy of flexible response, NATO could give low level responses to low level provocations.

The representative from the USA argued that "flexible response" would keep the Soviet Union off balance, since Soviet leaders would not know exactly how NATO would respond to their moves. In addition "flexible response" would be a force for keeping conflict within manageable limits rather than risking all-out nuclear war.

At first most of the NATO members were opposed to the "flexible response" proposal. They feared that it would weaken NATO and provide less protection and security. However, the USA strongly supported this proposal and influenced other NATO members to back it too. Only France remained a holdout and voted against the "flexible response" policy. According to NATO rules decisions

by the North Atlantic Council must be unanimous. Thus, France's opposition defeated the "flexible response"proposal.

Despite the defeat of the "flexible response" proposal in NATO, the government of the United States moved to adopt this proposal as a major part of its foreign policy. In addition the United States representative to NATO continued to try to exert influence to pass this proposal. Thus, at a meeting of the North Atlantic Council in December, 1962, all members of NATO agreed to adopt the "flexible response" policy.

Case Two: Responding to the Soviet Invasion of Czechoslovakia

NATO was organized to provide security against the threat of attack by the Soviet Union. How has this organization responded to the use of armed force in Europe by the Soviet Union? This case provides information about an armed invasion of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Union and NATO's response to it.

A prerequisite to understanding the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia is some knowledge of the Warsaw Treaty Organization, the Eastern European counterpart to NATO.

An Introduction to the Soviet Bloc

The Soviet Bloc is the name given to a group of seven countries of Eastern Europe: the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), Poland, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, and Bulgaria. Communism is the fundamental characteristic shared by the Soviet Bloc nations. (See the map on the following page.)

These seven Communist nations of Eastern Europe are thought of as a bloc, because they tend to cooperate closely and to stand together to oppose common enemies. This group of nations is thought of as a Soviet Bloc,

SOVIET BLOC
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
1. East Germany
2. Czechoslovakia
3. Poland
4. Hungary
5. Romania
6. Bulgaria
7. USSR

because the USSR, or Soviet Union, is the dominant nation of the group. Mongolia, a Communist country of central Asia, is also linked very closely with the Soviet Bloc nations through domination by the USSR.

The Warsaw Pact

The Soviet Bloc countries are connected formally by a military organization: The Warsaw Treaty Organization (Warsaw Pact). The Warsaw Pact was signed in Warsaw, Poland on May 14, 1955. The purpose was to establish a military alliance between the USSR and six friendly East European neighbors. The signers of the Warsaw Pact pledged to help one another in the event of an armed attack and to cooperate closely in the development and placement of armed forces. An international military organization was established to coordinate the armed forces and military planning of the Warsaw Pact countries.

Since 1955, the Warsaw Treaty Organization has had three commanders: (a) Ivan S. Konev, (b) Andrei A. Grechko and (c) Ivan I. Yakubovsky. Each of these men is a Marshal of the armed forces of the Soviet Union, which is the highest rank in the Soviet army. All top-level positions of the Warsaw Treaty Organization are held by military officers of the Soviet Union. The main headquarters of the Warsaw Treaty Organization is in Moscow, USSR.

The following table shows the armed forces which have been contributed to the Warsaw Treaty Organization. The statistics for the Soviet Union show armed forces of the USSR stationed within four of the Warsaw Pact countries: Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland.

Armed Forces Contributed
To Warsaw Treaty Organization (1971)

Country	Army Personnel	Divisions	Tanks	Aircraft
Bulgaria	125,000	12	2,000	250
Czechoslovakia	175,000	13	2,700	600
USSR	65,000	5	-----	---
East Germany	90,000	6	1,800	270
USSR	254,000	20	7,500	1,100
Hungary	90,000	6	750	140
USSR	55,000	4	1,4000	350
Poland	185,000	15	3,800	750
USSR	25,000	3	700	350
Romania	170,000	9	1,200	240
TOTAL	1,234,900	93	21,850	4,050

The Day The Thaw Ended: The Soviet Invasion of Czechoslovakia

In Czechoslovakia, 1969 seemed to be a year of hope. Warm winds of change were blowing which might thaw the icey repression that had gripped the land for such a long, harsh time.

The first bold signal of a warm new freedom came on January 5, 1968, when Alexander Dubcek was elected to replace Antonio Novotny as the leader of the Czechoslovakian Communist Party. Novotny had been a hard-nosed dictator who took orders from the Soviet Union. Dubeck seemed to favor reform that would allow more popular participation in the government, more freedom of speech and thought, and new opportunities for a lively, creative people who had been held down too long.

The people had grown unsettled under the repressive rule of Novotny. The Party had responded to their restiveness with Dubeck, and now reform appeared to be at hand.

Changes came rapidly under Dubeek's leadership. Novotny's cronies were turned out of office. Fresh, vigorous thinkers of new thoughts replaced them. Censorship was relaxed, and censors were fired. Freedom of speech blossomed in the press and television. Reforms were made in working conditions. The "thaw" had come.

The changes in Czechoslovakia worried the leaders of the Soviet Union. They feared that Dubeck's reforms would spread to other Communist countries and would erode their power. They strongly urged Dubeck and his followers to move more cautiously. Dubeck replied that he and his followers were staunch believers in Communism and that they had no intention of breaking their alliances with the Soviet Union and the other members of the Warsaw Treaty Organization.

The Soviet leaders came to Czechoslovakia in July to persuade Dubcek and his followers to get their country back into line. The Czech's refused. The Soviet leaders seemed to grudgingly accept the Czech position. The people of Czechoslovakia were jubilant.

The high spirits faded quickly on the night of August 20 when 200,000 soldiers, with tanks and armored cars, invaded Czechoslovakia. They moved swiftly to occupy the capitol, Prague, and other major cities. When the people awoke on August 21, they knew that this was "the day the thaw ended." They found their country in the icey grip of the Soviet army assisted by troops from four other Warsaw Pact countries: Poland, East Germany, Hungary, and Bulgaria. The only countries of East Europe to declare support for the Czechs were Romania and Yugoslovia.

The Czechoslovakian army did not fight back, which would have been suicidal. The people resisted passively. They refused to cooperate with the invaders in any way.

But passive resistance could not stop the invaders, who controlled Czechoslovakia completely. They forced the Czech's to sign a treaty permitting Soviet troops to remain there indefinitely. Dubcek's reforms were rescinded. Reformist leaders were turned out of office, and the old cronies of Novotny were put back in their places of power. Dubcek was allowed to remain in office until April, 1969 when he was replaced by Gustav Husak. The Czechoslovakian threat to Soviet power had ended.

The Soviet leaders justified their invasion of Czechoslovakia with a new policy, the Brezhnev Doctrine, which declared:

> When internal and external forces hostile to Socialism attempt to turn the development of any socialist country in the direction of the restoration of the capitalist system, when a threat arises to the cause of Socialism in that country a threat to the security of the Socialist Commonwealth as a whole -- it already becomes not only a problem for the people of that country but also a general problem, the concern of all Socialist Countries.

NATO's Response

NATO was faced with the decision of how to respond to the Soviet invasion and to the Brezhnev Doctrine. Should the NATO countries rush to the defense of Czechoslovakia? Should they threaten the Soviet Union with some sort of pressure? Or should they do nothing?

The North Atlantic Council responded to the Czechoslovakian "thaw" with restraint, so as not to give the Soviet Union any additional excuses for invading the country. When the invasion came, NATO decided to accept the fact of Soviet domination in that part of Europe.

However, the Council decided to make it very clear that they would be ready to meet many threats to the security of Western Europe. The NATO members decided to upgrade the quality of their military forces. To this end each member, except France, made significant new contributions. In particular, they agreed to add more than

$1 billion to their planned NATO contributions in the next three years. The United States made an especially large new contribution to the NATO defense forces as a means to motivate other members to take a united stand against the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia.

The policy decision of the North Atlantic Council to upgrade the quality of the NATO forces was carried out by the three main military commands of the organization. These facets of NATO engaged in a series of special training exercises and planning and evaluation sessions in order to improve NATO military capabilities in line with the Council's decision.

Use the information on pages 153 to 160 to answer these questions about NATO.

1. Which of the following is the best description of the pattern of political activities in NATO?

   a. Most important political activities are carried out by a small group.

   b. Most political activities are carried out by people according to whether they have higher or lower positions in the system.

   c. Most political activities are carried out by many people.

2. Which of these hypotheses are supported by the data about NATO?

   a. The patterns of political resources and activities are more like those in the participant political system model than like those in the other three system models studied in this course.

   b. The patterns of political resources and activities are more like those in the bureaucratic political system model than like those in the other three system models studied in this course.

   c. The patterns of political resources and activities are more like those in the coalitional political system model than like those in the other three system models studied in this course.

   d. The patterns of political resources and activities are more like those in the elite political system model than like those in the other three system models studied in this course.

3. What additional data about NATO could you use in order to continue to test the preceding hypotheses?

4. How could you gather these data?

PART D: POLITICAL ACTIVITIES AND POLITICAL EXPERIENCES

Activity D-1: Political Activities and Political Experiences in Participant Systems

You have learned that political activities of decision-making, leadership, communication, and participation can be different in participant and bureaucratic systems. Another question can be raised about political activities: What effect do different types of activities have on political experiences? For example if there is a majority rule operating in a system and it changes so that an elite rule is now in operation, this can affect leadership styles and communication patterns among members of the group. If all patterns of the system change, the change in decision-making has produced political development. The major question in this Activity is how various political activities such as decision-making, leadership, participation, and communication contribute to political experiences of maintance, change, development and conflict.

Think about the four political experiences and how they might be affected in a participant system by a variety of political activities. Read the Chhatera case which follows on the next page. It will illustrate how political activities in Chhatera contributed to a political experience in the village. When you have finished the case, answer the discussion questions which follow it.

Chhatera: The Successor

In Chhatera, there is a clear set of laws for the succession of new panchayat officers. Elections were held on June 28, 1971, and Pratap Singh was elected to be the new sarpanch. He was to replace Sarpanch Girdhari Lal. It was an exciting election and there were many new young council members who wanted to do many things for the village. Pratap Singh, himself, was very interested in improving conditions in the village and getting on with his duties as sarpanch.

However, panchayat law requires that an outgoing sarpanch turn over his or her office to a successor. Until this process happens, the outgoing sarpanch governs the village. Girdhari Lal was not eager to give up his position. It seems that he had 3,000 rupees in his own hands as cash. This cash could not be properly accounted for, therefore, he could not, so he claimed, turn over the records and accounts to Pratap Singh. Without these records, accounts and the money of the villagers, the new sarpanch could not carry out his duties. A dilemma had risen, the old sarpanch would not give up the records and accounts and the new sarpanch could not govern. In effect, the village was left without a head and no new activities could be undertaken by the villagers.

The villagers were angry. They tried unsuccessfully to convince Girdhari Lal to turn over his office. Lal was embarrassed and felt it would be a slight on his integrity if he were to turn over his office without accounting for the 3,000 rupees. As a

rule, no sarpanch is allowed to hold more than 50 rupees in cash. Lal insisted that he could not turn over the accounts until the discrepancy was resolved. Many villagers thought that Lal would hold onto the accounts until the 1976 elections. Then he would run again for the office of sarpanch and attempt to continue in office. The villagers feared this and they were worried about the functioning of their small government.

For over a year, the villagers attempted to get Lal to give up his job as head of the government. For over a year, they have been unable to move Lal or to get authorities to search the premises of his home to retrieve the records and accounts. Many times the district officals have promised the panchayat members that they would come and take care of the situation. They could issue a search warrant and search the premises of Lal's home and retrieve the documents. The villagers continue to protest and Chhatera remains ungoverned.

Discussion Questions

1. What kinds of political activities are illustrated in this case?

2. What political experience is illustrated here?

3. If Chhatera is regarded as a participant system, how did the activities of the sarpanch and the villagers affect the political experience of the village?

4. What generalizations can you draw about the relationship between political activities and political experiences in the Chhatera case?

5. Can you draw any conclusions about how political experiences might have been different in a bureacratic system than they were in Chhatera?

Activity D-2: Political Activities and Political Experiences in Bureaucratic Systems

You have seen how activities can affect political experiences in a participant system. In Chhatera and the case of the succession of the sarpanch, activities affected experiences in a variety of ways. Two generalizations about the relationship between political activities and political experiences in a participant system are reviewed below.

1. In participant systems, when status relationships are regularized by a rule, then maintenance tends to be promoted.
2. In participant systems, if leadership resources are narrowed because an individual or group withholds vital wealth or information, yet participation and decision-making continue to be open and consensual the system will undergo political conflict experience.

The above generalizations about participant systems are helpful in understanding the relationship between political activities and experiences. There are also several generalizations which can be made about the relationship between activities and experiences in bureaucratic systems. These generalizations can be listed below:

1. In a bureaucratic system, when the number of individuals involved in decision-making widens, yet the leaders attempt to hold on to their position, there is a political conflict experience.

2. In a bureaucratic system when the resources leaders have widen and decision-making and participation continues to be stratified, a political change experience occurs.

These generalizations help the understanding of bureaucratic systems that function in dynamic ways over time.

The following case on NATO illustrates how the above generalizations and others can be used in order to explain political life. It offers a contrasting case to that of Chhatera. First do the exercise about making comparisons developed below, then read the case and answer the discussion questions which follow it.

Making Comparisons

Making comparisons helps to distinguish similarities and differences in political life. People make comparisons by asking questions and by making statements. This short exercise presents two descriptions, one of Ash High School in 1965 and one of Ash High School in 1975. Read them carefully, looking for the similarities and differences in the two political systems. After you finish, write two questions and two statements which would be helpful for comparing political life in the two systems. As you read the scenarios and write the questions, think about the three criteria for making good comparisons.

1. Determine what you want to compare.
2. Make sure the objects or events you compare are comparable.
3. Determine the significance of the comparisons you make.

Description of Ash High School In 1965	Description of Ash High School In 1975
1. has many flowers decorating the halls	has few flowers decorating the halls
2. students have as much status as teachers	teachers have more status than students
3. an all-school council makes most decisions for the school	the principal and a few assistants make most decisions for the school
4. teachers, administrators, and students talk regularly and openly	teachers rarely talk to students and administrators rarely talk to teachers
5. the all school council controls most of the money in the school	the principal and a few assistants control most of the money in the school

In the spaces below, write two statements of comparison and two questions of comparison. Describe the significance of each.

Statement 1

_____

_____

_____

Significance

_____

_____

_____

Statement 2

Significance

Question 1

Significance

Question 2

Significance

Do your comparisons meet the three rules of making good comparisons? In writing each statement or question did you:

1. Determine what you wanted to compare?
2. Make sure the objects or events you compared were comparable?
3. Determine the significance of the comparisons you made?

After you have discussed the two statements and two questions of comparison you made about Ash High School, look at the two columns below. The column on the left contains characteristics of the political system of Smithville. The column on the right contains characteristics of the political system of Jonesport. Study them carefully looking for similarities in the two political systems. Then, in the space provided write two generalizations which contain comparison about the two systems.

Description of Smithville	Description of Jonesport
The mayor makes all the decisions in town.	There is no mayor. The town council makes decisions only after unanimous agreement of its members.
Few people participate in political life.	Many people participate in political life.
The mayor controls most political resources.	Political resources are shared equally by members of the town council and by citizens of Jonesport.

In the space below, write two statements of comparison. Describe the significance of each one.

Generalization 1: _____

_____

_____

Significance: _____

_____

_____

Generalization 2: _____

_____

_____

Significance: _____

_____

_____

Now read the case which begins on the next page. Think about comparisons and generalizations you might make with the Chhatera case. Then answer the discussion questions which follow the case.

NATO and Nuclear Weapons

The United States has always dominated the NATO alliance in the policy area of nuclear weapons. The United States' system is large and sophisticated. By contrast, a few other NATO nations have minimal nuclear weapons. The British for example, have had an out-dated and unsophisticated nuclear weapon system. Because of this dominance, the United States has tended to be viewed as the only powerful decision-maker of the alliance in decisions about what would be done in case of nuclear attack. However, NATO members have been uneasy about this status. It was a strange imbalance in an alliance that was presumed to have equal input from all members.

The major question was one of whether or not other nations would share in decisions about nuclear weapons. It was commonly agreed that United States was not about to give up its decision-making power or its leadership in making these decisions. Besides many of the NATO nations knew very little about nuclear armaments. They did not know enough to participate fully in any decision about nuclear power. Therefore, though the NATO alliance was one based on equal participation, leadership and decision-making power in this particular dimension of the military effort was dominated by a single party -- the United States.

The United States was not comfortable in its role as unilateral decision-maker. Therefore, over the period of 1965-70, there were several attempts made to change the situation. One proposal was to share nuclear weapons through a multi-lateral force (MLF). The MLF plan originated in the U.S. Department of State. The idea was to have sharing in the running of a fleet of surface ships which held missles. Command and manpower would be rotated across NATO nations. NATO nations would also share the full cost of this operation. In this way, surface ships carrying missiles would be manned by an international force, cooperating in the running and maintenance of the missile system.

MLF did not work. It hedged the primary question of decision-making. Although there might be an international force manning the missiles, there would not necessarily be participation in the decisions about whether or not to strike in case of attack. According to the Europeans this was not real "nuclear sharing", because the decision to strike was still retained by the United States. The effort further convinced the Europeans that the United States was not willing to give up its decision power in the nuclear weapons dimension of the NATO alliance.

In 1966, McNamara had a new idea. He decided that there was no reason why the decisions about nuclear weapons could not be shared by the European community, except that most people did not have enough information in order to effectively participate in the decisions. In 1966 he formed a group called Nuclear Planning Group (NPG). The NPG began meeting in session after session over

documents regarding nuclear energy. McNamara was determined that the five nations represented in the Nuclear Planning Group would know as much about missiles as the United States. The Europeans were excited. For the first time, they were beginning to have enough information to participate effectively and to take a leadership role in making decisions about the nuclear capability of the NATO alliance.

The primary decision that demonstrated the new capability of the nuclear planning group was the ABM decision in 1967. This was the first time that a question had been raised over the use of antiballistic missiles by the NATO force. The United States had ABM's and was fully prepared to use them in case of a Soviet attack. There was a great deal of controversy over the ABM's and whether or not they would unintentionally make the Soviets or the Chinese nervous enough to strike early because they knew that NATO could stop their missiles while they would still be in their silos. It made good sense, however, for the United States to have ABM's so they could stop a nuclear attack begun across any ocean. The question that was raised by the European members of NATO was "Is ABM a good system for Europe?"

This was a decision that the Europeans would make. It seemed unlikely that Europe would need ABM missiles when the distance for attack by the Soviet Union was so short. However, the European defense ministers met for a long time on the issue. Their conclusion was that ABM's were not useful and they supported McNamara.

The ABM would not be used in Europe. The distances were far too short and the liklihood of attack was aggravated by the ABM system. It was the first time that a major decision about nuclear armament had been made by many members of the alliance.

Discussion Questions

1. What political activities are demonstrated in this case?

2. What political experience is evident in the formation of the Nuclear Planning Group?

3. How are political activities related to the experience in the Nuclear Planning Group?

4. What generalizations can you make about the relationships between political activities and experiences based on this case?

5. What comparisons can you make between the Chhatera case and the NATO nuclear armament case? List your comparisons below in the form of generalizations.

PART E: POLITICAL SYSTEMS, EXPERIENCES, AND PARTICIPATION

Activity E-1: Four Political Systems

You have been studying how political activities are different in participant and bureaucratic political systems. You have seen how activities in NATO are different from those in Chhatera. This lesson is designed to take a look at political systems as wholes to see how both resources and activities are different in bureaucratic and participant as well as elite and coalitional systems. In this way you will be able to look at political systems as wholes and determine how they experience maintenance, change, development and conflict over time.

If you think about political resources and activities together, each of the four political systems you have studied can be summarized the way that is outlined in the diagram on the following page.

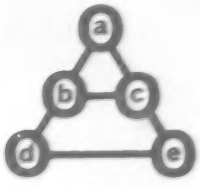
In an elite political system, political resources are held by only a few people and most political activities are carried out by a small group. Chicago is an example of an elite system. In this case, Mayor Daley and a few people very close to him have most of the ideas, wealth, and skills as well as other resources in the system. They also make most of the decisions and carry out most of the important political activities in Chicago. Therefore, a trend in the resource pattern is for resources to be held by the elite and for a few people to hold the skills, information and status in the system.

In a bureaucratic political system, resources are "stratified" across groups in the system and political activities are carried out by people according to their positions. NATO is an example of a bureaucratic political system. In NATO there are various strata of

ELITE POLITICAL SYSTEM

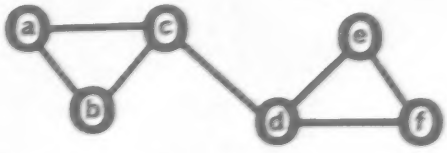
A POLITICAL UNIT IN WHICH MOST POLITICAL RESOURCES ARE SHARED BY A FEW PEOPLE AND MOST POLITICAL ACTIVITIES ARE CARRIED OUT BY A SMALL GROUP.

BUREAUCRATIC POLITICAL SYSTEM



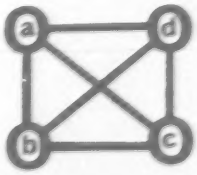
A POLITICAL UNIT IN WHICH POLITICAL RESOURCES ARE STRATIFIED ACROSS GROUPS OF PEOPLE IN THE SYSTEM AND MOST POLITICAL ACTIVITIES ARE CARRIED OUT BY PEOPLE ACCORDING TO THEIR POSITIONS.

COALITIONAL POLITICAL SYSTEM



A POLITICAL UNIT IN WHICH MOST POLITICAL RESOURCES ARE DIVIDED AMONG DIFFERENT GROUPS AND MOST POLITICAL ACTIVITIES ARE CARRIED OUT BY MANY DIFFERENT GROUPS.

PARTICIPANT POLITICAL SYSTEM



A POLITICAL UNIT IN WHICH MOST POLITICAL RESOURCES ARE SHARED BY MANY PEOPLE AND MOST POLITICAL ACTIVITIES ARE CARRIED OUT BY MANY PEOPLE.

committees which control resources. The United States, Britain and West Germany, for example, hold many of the resources. The United States holds the most, especially in terms of nuclear weapons. Other countries in NATO hold fewer resources. Therefore, there are ranks. The United States would rank at the top, Britain and Germany would rank second, and other countries would rank third in the distribution of resources. Also, activities are carried out according to people's positions. The United States has traditionally dominated the group in terms of decision-making and participation. West Germany and England have had different functions to perform in the system and consult with the United States in various policies. Other countries have had minor functions to perform in decision-making. The agenda is set and most issues are resolved by nations which have the most resources. Therefore, a bureaucracy is a set of strata, or ranks, in which a few people hold most of the resources, others hold second most, and others hold third most according to their rank in the organization. People act in the organization according to their position.

In a coalitional political system like the United States, resources are divided among different groups. Therefore, you will recall that the President has some resources, the Congress has others and the Court has other resources. Other groups within the United States, such as unions or special interest lobbies, have different resources. Resources are spread according to the particular wealth, skills, status, information or ideas which a group has. The President of the United States should not dominate the system. The amount of resources any single group has is roughly equal to that of other groups, although

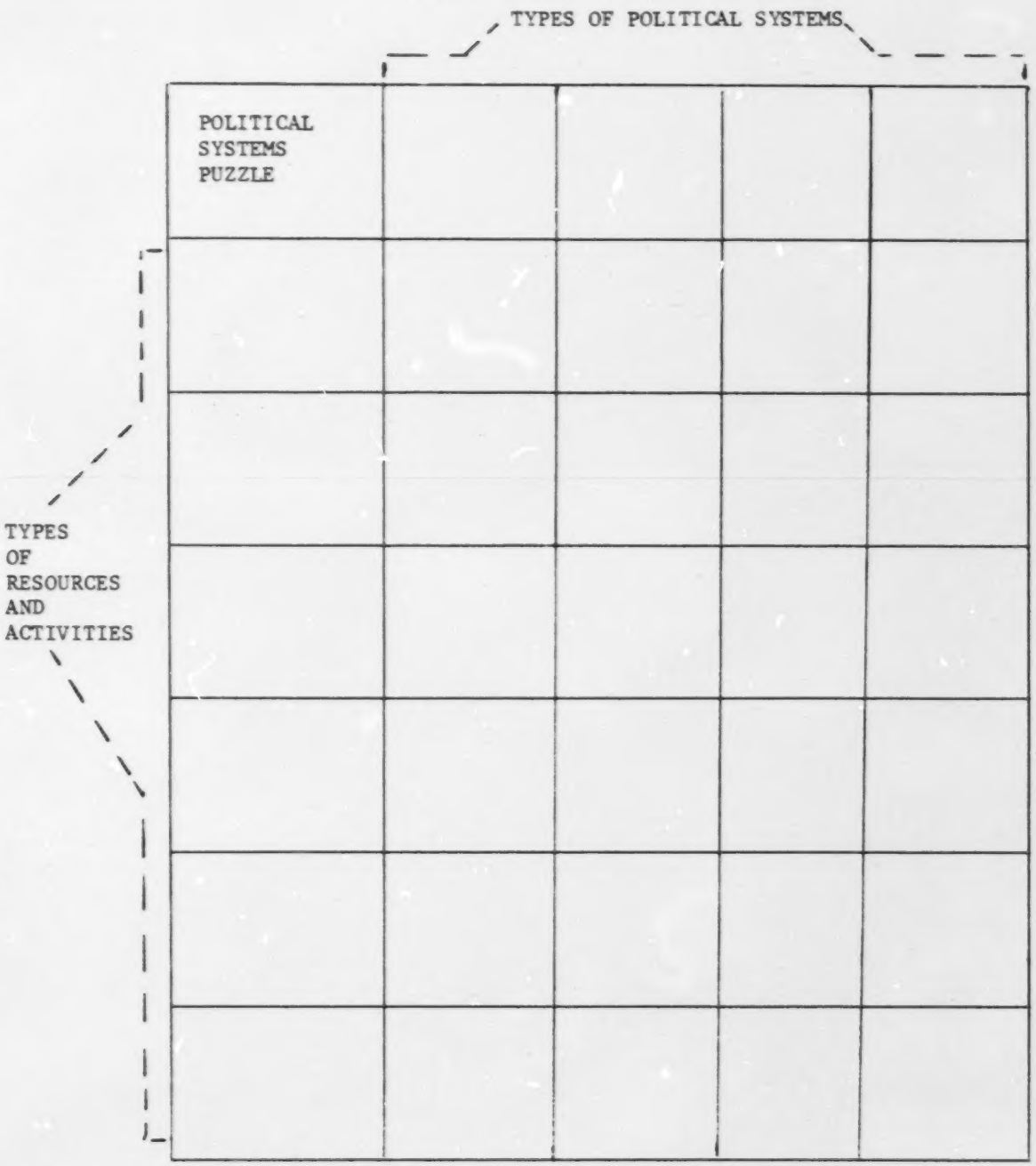
the types of resources held by groups may differ. Different political activities are carried out by different groups. Technically, the President implements the decisions of which the Congress makes. The judiciary judges the rules under which decisions are made. Each of these groups has a different set of activities to undertake in the U.S. political system. This is a characteristic of a coalitional distribution of resources and activities.

In a participant political system like Chhatera, political resources are shared by everyone and political activities are carried out by everyone. In building a road or constructing a bridge, villagers in Chhatera all shared equal resources in contributing to the task. They all had an equal vote, a consensus rule was dominant in decision-making. They all had equal opportunity to use their skills. There was a two-way information flow in which information was communicated to everyone, and control was based on merit of ideas and peoples' willingness to do the job. In this case, a participant political system is demonstrated because people share resources and activities.

These are all general characteristics of the four political systems that you have been studying. There are very real differences between these political systems. Although, the four types represent "ideal types" and different systems will approximate these ideals, they do represent general alternatives for organizing political life. Together, the pattern of resources and activities form the core for defining each of these system types.

On the next page you will find a diagram of a Political Systems Puzzle. The puzzle asks you to put together pieces according to what resources and activities are typical of different systems. There are

POLITICAL SYSTEMS PUZZLE



four systems represented in the puzzle: elite, bureaucratic, coalitional, and participant. There are six different types of resources and activities.

The political resources are:

1. Status
2. Information
3. Skills

The political activities are:

1. Decision-Making
2. Leadership
3. Communication

These resources and activities can be combined in different ways to describe political systems types. It is your job in completing the puzzle to identify which types of resources and activities can be matched with different types of political systems.

You will do the political systems puzzle in class as a small group. Your teacher will give you a puzzle board and a set of puzzle pieces. Try to put the puzzle pieces together in order to complete the puzzle.

Hint: If you begin by putting the political systems types across the top of the puzzle and the types of resources and activities across the left-hand side of the puzzle, you can then begin to fill in the different types of resources and activities that are appropriate to each political system type.

As you complete the puzzle, think carefully about the types of resources and activities which belong with each political system type.

Then answer the following questions:

1. a. What distrubition of political resources is common in an elite system?

   b. What distribution of political activities is common in an elite system?

   c. Can you state some generalizations about the distribution of resources and activities in elite systems?

2. a. What political resources and activities are common in coalitional systems?

   b. State some generalizations about coalitional systems based on your completion of the political systems puzzle.

3. a. What are similarities and differentces between coalitional and participant political systems? How are their resources and activities distributed differently?

   b. What generalizations can you make about differences in coalitional and participant systems based on your completion of the Political Systems Puzzle?

4. a. What are similarities and differences between elite and bureaucratic political systems?

b. What generalizations can you make about differences in elite and bureaucratic systems based on your completion of the Political Systems Puzzle?

5. What do you think are major similarities and differences between all four types of political systems identified in the Political Systems Puzzle?

Upper Valley High School

Below is a case about a political system and how it operates. Identify the resources and activities illustrated by the case and indicate what type of political system you think it is and why.

Influence Relationships at Upper Valley

The main actors in the political scene at Upper Valley High School are the principal, the members of the School Council, and the members of twelve caucuses.

The School Council is connected to a school-wide system of caucuses, or groups. Students and teachers are distributed randomly among twelve caucuses, each having approximately the same number of teachers, seniors, juniors, sophomores, and freshmen. Each caucus includes about fifty-five students and four teachers.

Two representatives from each caucus are elected to the School Council. Each person has one vote, and all votes are of equal value, whether cast by a teacher or a student. Both teachers and students have the same opportunities for election.

The important characteristics for election to Upper Valley's Council are skill in working with people, having good ideas which are shared with others, and having a likeable personality. Many people at Upper Valley (both students and teachers) have these talents, and each caucus has about an equal number of people with these characteristics.

The 24 Council members are key policy makers at Upper Valley in all matters not involving state law or school board policies. For example, the Council cannot reduce the number of required school days

or direct that a particular teacher be hired or fired. In all other areas, the Council has influence, for they can submit proposals which the principal must either implement or veto. The Council can override a veto with a two-thirds vote, forcing the principal to comply. The principal needs Council approval to initiate new policies.

Council members frequently consult with their respective caucuses before making a decision. Classes end an hour early on Tuesdays so caucuses can meet. Council members explain the issues facing them and hear the opinions of caucus members on these problems. Through these meetings everyone in the system is kept informed.

The caucuses are expected to try to influence the decisions of the Council members who represent them. Likewise, Council members may try to persuade caucus members to support a particular point of view. Caucus members who are unhappy about a decision may present their complaints directly to the Council.

No formal rules govern relationships between the caucuses and the principal. The principal frequently talks with students to learn their views on issues and to reveal his ideas. During these exchanges, students may have some influence on the principal, and he may have some effect on them.

A Jukebox for the Grill?

The junior class at Upper Valley High managed a grill in the school cafeteria. They had gone into the food service business after Upper Valley's hot lunch program went bankrupt. The grill's profits went to the class treasury.

The juniors continually thought of ways to improve the grill, so they could earn more money for class activities. Their most controversial idea was to install a jukebox.

A group of juniors sent a proposal to the School Council requesting permission to put a jukebox in the grill. They argued that the jukebox music would attract more customers, and they reported that several vending companies were willing to install a jukebox. Half the profits would go to the company and the other half to the juniors' treasury. They told the Council that at least two-thirds of the junior class supported the idea. Thus, without consulting the caucuses as they usually did, Council members approved the proposal: fifteen were for it, four were against, and two abstained.

When Mr. McGutherie, the principal, received the proposal, he vetoed it. Since this was the first time he had rejected a proposal, Mr. McGutherie did not want the action to appear arbitrary. Thus, Mr. McGutherie appeared before the Council's next meeting to explain the reasons for his veto.

He first reminded the Council members that the junior class grill was a new idea that had not yet been judged successful. He argued that the worth of the grill should be determined only by student responses to the food service. Installing a jukebox could cloud judgments about the success or failure of the grill.

Second, Mr. McGutherie said that he had spoken with many students who opposed a jukebox because they feared it would make the grill too noisy.

Third, he thought noise from a jukebox might interfere with nearby administrative offices.

Fourth, Mr. McGutherie said the Council had erred in deciding the question without discussing it with the caucuses. He argued that they should not use their power to issue orders any more than he should.

The principal concluded by saying that despite his opposition to the jukebox, the Council could overturn his veto with a two-thirds majority vote. If this happened, the jukebox would be installed in the grill. However, he urged the Council to consult the caucuses before deciding whether to override his veto.

A few members argued that the Council should not surrender to the principal. Rather they ought to override the veto immediately. However, most members voted to consult the caucuses before voting on the veto.

A week later when the caucuses met, Mr. McGutherie sent a two-page letter to each caucus detailing the reasons for his veto and asking them to support his position. While he was clearly trying to sway opinion toward his viewpoint, Mr. McGutherie relied upon the strength of his reasons, not the authority of his office, to persuade others. Students highly regarded both his attitude and his reasons. After discussing the issue, most caucuses directed their Council representatives to support Mr. McGutherie.

Four days later, the Council met and decided by a large majority not to override the veto. Some juniors on the Council who had supported the jukebox ideas submitted a new proposal. They asked that a jukebox be installed on a trial basis for three weeks. At this time the Council and Mr. McGutherie could evaluate it and make a final decision.

While the rest of the Council could have easily defeated this proposal, they had too much respect for other members to force them

to comply without first seeking to find a mutually acceptable position. By a vote of fifteen for and three against, the Council tabled the new proposal until the Superintendent of Schools and Mr. McGutherie could come before the Council to clarify the issue.

The Council session was interrupted when Mr. McGutherie and Dave Sharphorn, a leader of the group managing the grill, entered the room. They brought unexpected and startling news. A jukebox was being installed at that very moment! Dave, thinking the Council had approved it, had ordered a jukebox.

After some initial confusion, the Council and Mr. McGutherie decided jointly how to handle this situation. They could have punished Dave, but decided against it. He had acted with good intentions. Thus, they chose to let the jukebox remain on a trial basis until school ended in four weeks. Nearly everyone liked the jukebox, and it bothered no one.

At the beginning of the next school year, a new jukebox proposal was submitted. It was approved by the Council and accepted by Mr. McGutherie.

Discussion Questions

1. What patterns of political resources did you find in the Upper Valley High School Case?

2. What patterns of political activities do you find in the case?

3. What type of political system do you think is illustrated by the patterns of resources and activities in Upper Valley High School?

4. How do you think these resource and activity patterns might effect political experiences of maintenance, change, development and conflict?

Activity E-2: Political Systems and Political Experiences

In this activity we will look at how the political systems types you have identified as elite, coalitional, bureaucratic, and participant systems undergo a variety of political experiences. For example, we will explore how elite systems experience conflict and how coalitional systems experience change. We will look specifically how systems as wholes are affected by these experiences.

You have learned how resources affect political experiences. For example, you have learned that when elites use resources to control a system, they promote political maintenance. You have learned that when new leaders join the elite group, then they can use their status to promote political change. You have also learned that when some group with established status promotes an issue, political change can occur. In these ways, political resources affect maintenance and change. In similar ways, you have learned how they effect political development and conflict.

Political activities also affect political experiences as you learned in Part D of this unit. When a participant political system experiences maintenance, it is often because status is regularized by a decision rule and because people are given equal vote. They are all out to maintain equal status positions. Therefore, resources and decision-making are held constant over time. You have also learned that in a bureaucratic system, status relationships help to hold the rank ordering of the bureaucracy. This tends to hold the system together and promote maintenance. You have learned that when these status relationships change, political change occurs in either

bureaucratic or participant systems. These are just a few examples of the kinds of generalizations you have made in about the effects of political activity on political experiences.

It is our intent here for you to think about how whole systems experience maintenance, change, development and conflict over time. Time is an important concept in considering systems experiences. A system does not change over night. Looking at a system at one time may make it seem static. There may not be any visual signs of change, yet when one looks over a ten or twenty year period, a system may have developed into an entirely different type. Therefore, you need to think about time and how it effects political experiences.

We will work with three time periods whenever we analyze political experiences. We will call the initial time period at which we begin to look at a system "time 1." We will call a second period when we continue looking at a political system, "time 2." We will call the final period, "time 3." This will give us three measures of the system and how it operates over time. If the system remains the same over each of these three time periods, we will say there is a maintenance experience. If the system changes one of its resources or activities, we will say there has been a change experience. If all the resources and activities change and a new system is created, we will call it a development experience. If some resources and activities seem to change in opposite directions, we will call it a conflict experience because contradictions have been established in the system over time.

A time line could be drawn on which you judge a political experience of a political system. The time line looks as follows:

time 1 time 2 time 3

At each point on the time line you should be able to judge whether or not a system shows the same or different resource and/or activity patterns.

You will now work in small groups and with your teacher on the political systems puzzle to demonstrate how whole systems experience maintenance, change, development and conflict. Use the spaces provided below to write the generalizations that you find in your small groups and with your teacher about your work with the political systems puzzle.

1. Generalizations about how resources affect political development (Chhatera to Chicago).

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

2. Generalizations about how activities affect political development (Chhatera to Chicago).

_____

_____

_____

3. Generalizations about how resources and activities commonly affect political development in many types of systems.

4. Generalizations about how resources and activities affect political maintenance experiences.

5. Generalizations about how resources and activities affect political change experiences.

6. Generalizations about how political resources and activities affect political conflict experiences.

Political Experiences at St. Anthony High

Below is a case about political life in St. Anthony High School. Read the case and identify how political resources and activities have affected the political experiences of the school. Draw a time line and use it in answering the questions which follow the case.

St. Anthony High and Brother Dwayne

St. Anthony High students have long made use of Frontier Drive-in as a place to meet and talk about what was going on at school. One could always smell fried onion rings and hamburgers cooking in the back of the drive-in. In the front of the drive-in, students hung around in cars and talked about what was on their minds. This early spring it was a very important issue. The issue was hair.

For St. Anthony high students the issue of whether or not there should be a dress code that included the length of student's hair was a very important one. Some of those students suggested getting a petition from the whole student body to protest the hair regulations. Others suggested that they have a walk-out and boycott school until the hair code was changed. As it stood, students at St. Anthony could only have their hair three inches long on top and just at the edge of the ear on the side. Some students wanted to wear it longer. Other students thought that people shouldn't decide what hair style they would have. They thought it was a basic violation of their individual rights.

The students met for a long time at the drive-in debating back and forth the pros and cons of various forms of activity. They could

walk-out, but what good would that do? No one would talk to them until they were in school. They could sign a petition, but the channels that the petition would have to go through would be lengthy and they wanted to have the hair code changed NOW. Finally, some of them decided to go to the principal.

Brother Dwayne would always listen to students. It was clear that he made the decisions, but if students could get the proper backing from the student body, teachers, and sponsors, he would generally listen to their suggestions.

He was very sympathetic with the students. He felt that the regulations were out-dated and new regulations should be made. However, he was unwilling to settle the issue with a group of students in his office. He said there were channels that must be followed in any new school policy. Students, teachers, and administrators had to have input into the issue. The students needed to find teachers who were willing to support their case and the teachers needed to talk with him about various types of policies.

Brother Dwayne agreed to appoint a Board of Review consisting of two students, two faculty members, and two parents to meet with him to consider new guidelines for hair. It took the Review Committee 20 hours of debate before they could arrive at an acceptable new hair code. Late in the spring, Brother Dwayne and the committee announced to the school that a new hair code would be in operation in the fall.

The new hair code allows for slightly longer hair but definitely supports a clean, well-groomed, short-haired, student. Because it is a private school, anyone who does not agree can go to school somewhere else. Brother Dwayne feels this way and so do other teachers and students in the school.

St. Anthony Under Brother Godfried

Brother Dwayne was leaving. A new principal was going to come into the school in the fall. The new principal was supposed to be tough and business-like -- and he was.

Brother Dwayne had been open to students, Brother Godfried tended not to be. Brother Godfried concerned himself entirely with administrative matters, including an expansion plan, caring for personnel, and maintaining or modifying aspects of the school's general philosophy. Students and faculty were very cautious. They were not sure what Brother Godfried would turn out to be. He seemed to keep a great deal of distance between himself and the students. The vice-principal tended to take on most of the day-to-day student affairs.

On the outside, Brother Godfried seemed to be rather remote and clearly a decision-maker. He was surely going to make the decisions in the school.

As an observer of the student scene said, "Some students think Brother Godfried is an elitist because he keeps his door closed, will only see students with appointments, and during lunch, he'll just stand there like one of the fixtures, not shaking hands or talking with anyone. But that is just the way the guy operates, he is very professional, he's highly organized. He'll work with students, but they need to seek his help."

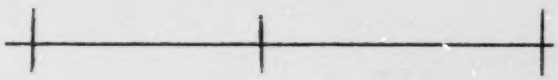
Slowly, but surely, the students found out that they could be heard with Brother Godfried as they had been with Brother Dwayne. Maybe the image of a "nice guy" was Brother Dwayne's way of getting his own decision-making ratified by the students and teachers. Brother Godfried also tended to take the students' opinions into consideration.

He made his decisions himself, but often students found decisions going their way.

Students ended the year not sure whether Brother Godfried was really different from Brother Dwayne or not. They were sure that most of the school's resources are for important decisions rested in the principal's office.

Discussion Questions

TIME LINE



1. What important events happened at St. Anthony's during the period from early spring through the fall and winter of the next year? Place these events on the time line diagrammed above.

2. How are political resources distributed at St. Anthony High?

3. How are political activities carried out?

4. What type of political system has existed at St. Anthony's?

_____

5. What kind of political experience did St. Anthony undergo between the administrations of Brother Dwayne and Brother Godfried?

_____

_____

_____

6. How do you compare the experience of St. Anthony with that in your own school during this past year?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Summary

Below is a summary of some generalizations about how resources and activities affect political experiences in different types of political systems. They may serve as helpful guides for you in reviewing material in this Activity.

Elite Political Systems

1. When leaders use resources to control the activities of members of a political group, political maintenance tends to be promoted in the system as a whole.

2. When new leaders emerge with different ideas about how a system should be run and they have a following, then political development tends to be promoted in the system as a whole.

3. When leaders exert increased control because members of a political group increase their participation, then political conflict tends to be promoted in the system as a whole.

Bureaucratic Political Systems

1. When status is clearly defined and used as a ranking measure, then maintenance tends to be promoted in the system as a whole.

2. When communication channels are weakened between leaders and followers, then change tends to be promoted in the system as a whole.

3. When groups in the system begin to become specialized and more people necessarily must participate in decisions, then development tends to be promoted in the system as a whole.

Coalitional Political Systems

1. When groups continue to hold special resources which other groups do not have, then maintenance tends to be promoted in the system as a whole.

2. If one group begins to hold many of the resources while more groups are necessary for decision-making, then conflict tends to be promoted in the system as a whole.

3. If resources begin to be held generally by many groups, then change tends to be promoted in the system as a whole.

Participant Political Systems

1. If equality of resources such as status is regularized by a decision rule, then maintenance tends to be promoted in the system as a whole.

2. If specialized skills become necessary for carrying out group activities, then political change tends to be promoted in the system as a whole.

3. If strong leadership is needed and decisions are left to the leaders to make action more efficient, then political development tends to be promoted in the system as a whole.

Activity E-3: Organizing Political Groups

Often organizing a political group is a very important thing. Sometimes people are in a situation in which group coordination is the only way to achieve their goals. Read the following case and determine how you would advise Chip to act in this particular situation.

The Hair Code

Chip really wanted to wear long hair. He had always kept his hair clean and his dress had never disturbed other people in his home or neighborhood. He was to get married in his Senior year in high school and his girlfriend, Sandy, liked his hair long. He had stopped wearing it long when he had come to St. Anthony High because of the hair code.

If he were by himself, he felt he would wear his hair long. However, he feared that wearing his hair long would influence his grades and teachers would look down on him. He also thought that students in the ROTC would kid him about his hair. The students didn't bother him a whole lot, but he definitely didn't want the teachers to down grade him because of the way he dressed. He also didn't want to be suspended from school because he had violated the hair code.

Chip felt that he was about to get married and was a mature individual and could wear his hair the way he wanted. Yet, he worried about how the school would react.

If you were to advise Chip, would you have him wear his hair long or not?

1. What is your position on this issue and why do you take it?

2. What are other positions on this issue in your class?

3. How might you revise your position, after you heard positions from others? What would it take for you to change your mind?

4. What activities might you suggest that Chip undertake in order to get what he wants?

In this situation Chip certainly had to do something in order to get what he wanted. Often doing something involves forming a group or taking an organizer role. There are four main characteristics of a successful organizer which are summarized in the box below.

A Successful Organizer
1. Plans group activities. 2. Matches people and tasks according to peoples' skills. 3. Clearly identifies goals and priorities. 4. Establishes a clear role and good working relationships among individuals.

These are the characteristics of a good organizer. You will undertake a role play exercise and attempt to carry out these characteristics in a role play situation in class. First, read the following case and think about whether or not Jose and Maria are playing good organizer roles. Try to figure out what you would do as an organizer in this situation.

The Newspaper

There has never been a newspaper at Central High School before. Jose and Maria had talked about it for a long time. They decided to try to put together a newspaper. One day they made an announcement and had the principal to read it over the PA system. There would be a meeting after school for anyone that was interested in beginning a school newspaper. Jose and Maria had no idea how many students were interested enough to commit the time, energy, and effort it would take

to begin a newspaper.

They were surprised by the turnout at the meeting. There were six people; more than they expected. Bill was a freshman and beginning to take creative writing courses. He was a good writer, but he didn't know a lot about the school. Ben was a good worker, but didn't have any particular talents in news writing. He wanted to see a paper begin because he thought that students needed to know what was going on in the school. Others had a variety of talents, but it was a very mixed group.

Jose and Maria were puzzled. They knew what it took to put together a newspaper; it took money, time and talent. They didn't seem to have much of any of those resources in their group. They decided they would ask Bill to do some writing tasks and Ben could work hard and spend time necessary to get various tasks done. They could spend their time raising money so that the paper could be duplicated and distributed. They would investigate local printing agencies and see how much it would cost to come out with the first edition. They would also do a survey of students to see whether or not they would pay for a school paper. Soon after it began, it should be paying for itself, but right now it needed some capital in order to get a good start.

Their goals were clear. They wanted to get out a first issue as a trial edition of the new newspaper. They wanted to see how many students read it and whether or not it could survive another issue. They also wanted to see whether or not students would support a newspaper over the long run. They needed more people to help them

and they wanted to get the journalism teacher's reaction.

The paper was issued for the first time four weeks later. The "staff" had all worked themselves very hard. The first issue was one that covered school events, had two good editorials and even had several articles from students who wanted to start other kinds of organizations in the school.

Walking out of the meeting after the first issue, Jose and Maria were pleased. There were twelve people at this meeting. They were sure that the newspaper would continue.

- - - - - - - - - - - -

Think about how Jose and Maria played their roles. Did they play their organizer roles well? If so, what did they do that demonstrated the criteria of a good organizer? Write your response in the space below.

In class you will play a role play activity which involves taking an organizer role on several different issues. The material for the role play is contained on the next few pages of this book. Your teacher will explain how to use the material. After you play the role play activity, you will think about your own school and local community and the kind of organizer role you might play in it. You and a group of other people who are interested in the same issue will plan a strategy for how you might act out an organizer role and do something that is important to you in a local political setting.

At the bottom of this paragraph, list at least two ways that you might play organizer role, the kinds of groups you might work in and what you might do to develop your own political organization or carry out a task in an organization that already exists in your school or community setting.

Round One

BACKGROUND ON THE COMMUNITY EXPERIMENT
IN CENTERVILLE

People in Centerville had an idea. They wanted to try to de-congest traffic in the central part of the city. They would make a week during the year when they would not bring cars into the city at all. They would use public rapid transit lines. They felt that if people could use the rapid transit for a week, some of the habits might rub off.

Many of the citizens were really excited about this effort. School groups offered to volunteer students to facilitate people using the rapid transit system. Clubs got together to try to make a go of it and help supply some of the manpower necessary to carry out the project. All over the city groups were forming to help on the idea.

Round One

Role Profile: Mr./Ms. Carter

The students at Centerville High School are carrying out a class project. You are part of that student group. You will be part of the student group that will try to help people in directions on the rapid transit system. You have studied the rapid transit lines and you know where they go in various parts of the city.

Play the role of Mr. or Ms. Carter in the group of three you will be working in. Try to decide on an effective way the group can help in the Centerville experiment.

* *

Round One

Role Profile: Mr./Ms. Mifflin

You are a part of a citizens group that is willing to donate some money for advertising "rapid transit week." You are excited about the possibility of trying rapid transit and want to work with other community organizations in order to help support the community effort.

Play the role of Mr. or Ms. Mifflin in the group of three you will be working in. Try to decide on an effective way the group can help in the Centerville experiment.

BACKGROUND ON THE S & E DINER SITUATION

Sam and Ellen Nathan were the managers of the S & E Diner. Every Friday afternoon they met with their employees over staff problems. At a recent meeting, the employees indicated that they felt that the work schedule was unfair in the diner. Some people had very heavy loads of work, and other people had very little to do. They suggested that the work should be re-organized.

Everyone seemed to think this was a good idea. Some people were much better at doing take-out orders than others. Some people had special packing skills. Others people were good at serving people who came to eat in the diner itself. Some people could be good managers and try to balance the work between people on the job.

With this kind of talent available, Sam and Ellen figured that they could lick the problem if they could only put the staff together correctly. They decided at the next staff meeting to make a proposal about how to re-organize the staff.

Round Two

Role Profile: Mr./Ms. Saints

You are a waiter or waitress at the S & E diner. You are very good at serving guests who come to eat in the diner itself. You might also make a good manager of other people. You can adjust work loads and make sure that people have a fair share of the work to be done in the diner. You want to help Sam and Ellen come up with a good plan for organizing the staff. You don't want anyone to be overworked, and yet you want to be able to do what you are good at.

Play the role of Mr. or Ms. Saints in the group of three you will be working in. Try to decide on a plan to help Sam and Ellen.

* *

Round Two

Role Profile: Mr./Ms. Snyder

You are a bus boy or girl at the S & E diner. You are good at packing take-out orders and in getting things out fast. You can also work in the restaurant of the diner in clearing tables and supplying new dishes. You haven't broken a dish since you started and you are considered to be a hard worker. You think that you are doing too much work and you would rather that someone else would do some of your tasks so that you could do the ones that you do well. You want to help Sam and Ellen come up with a good plan, but you want to take some of the work off your shoulders.

Play the role of Mr. or Ms. Snyder in the group of three you will be working in. Try to decide on a plan to help Sam and Ellen.

BACKGROUND ON THE PROM QUEEN ISSUE
AT WALKER HIGH SCHOOL

There has always been a Prom Queen at Walker High School. Generally, the Queen is a cheerleader. The Prom Queen is picked by the football team as the person who is most beautiful and most able to serve as a general hostess for the senior prom.

Some students oppose the idea, for they think the Prom Queen should be representative of the school and the selection should not be a popularity contest. They feel that having the football team choose the Prom Queen is unfair. It is not the football team's right to choose the Prom Queen.

The students finally took their problem to the student court. The court ruled that it was not fair for the Prom Queen to be chosen by the football team. Some impartial group would be set up in order to determine who would be the Prom Queen. Applications would be received, and the group would review the applications.

Although some students do not agree with the student court's decision, everyone is determined to make the best of the situation. Various groups have been organized to develop plans to set up an impartial selection committee. The question is who will represent the school and how will an impartial group be formed. Many different student groups are meeting to make suggestions.

Round Three

Role Profile: Mr./Ms. Newcomb

The students in the Biology Club are meeting to attempt to figure out how to write a plan for establishing the impartial group for selecting the Prom Queen. You are part of that group. You personally think there should be a representative from various student clubs across the school and this would give a fair representation of students. You also think that there should be representatives from students who do not belong to clubs in the school. You have studied this problem and you have made a list of clubs where representatives should be selected based on the number of students in the club and their activities and politics. You are willing to help in writing up a plan and in talking to student leaders.

Play the role of Mr. or Ms. Newcomb in the group of three you will be working in. See if you can make a recommendation as a group to the student court.

* *

Round Three

Role Profile: Mr./Ms. Viera

You have been a member of the Biology Club for a long time and you have worked hard on many of its projects. In the case of Prom Queen, you think that there are criteria that should be established for any Prom Queen. In order to represent the school, the Prom Queen should be a good student. The Prom Queen should also be active in many student activities. In addition, the Prom Queen should exhibit good character. She should be fun to be around and have important social skills. You are willing to work on these criteria in order to develop a list that might be presented to the student court.

Play the role of Mr. or Ms. Viera in the group of three you will be working in. See if you can make a recommendation as a group to the student court.

In this situation you will play an organizer role. You will want to plan group activities and figure out the goals and priorities in order to help solve your problem. In thinking about the organizer role, answer the following questions as you play out the role in your group:

1. What kinds of resources do you have in order to solve your problem?

2. What tasks need to be done in order for the problems to be solved?

3. What people can you match these tasks in order to get the job done?

When you have finished playing your role in the group, discuss your role performance with other group members using the following questions as a guide:

1. How did you match people and tasks?

2. How do you think you could improve your performance of the organizer role?

PART F: POLITICAL ACTIVITIES AND POLITICAL FUTURES

Activity F-1: Steps in Planning Alternative Futures

In Unit Two of this course, you learned the basics of how to forecast alternative futures for political systems. Now that you have learned about four types of political systems, you have accumulated much more knowledge about alternative types of systems and alternative possible futures. In this activity you will expand your knowledge of alternative futures and apply it to a political system with which you are familiar and in which you think you might be able to make a difference in the activities and the future of that system.

In Unit Two you learned that forecasting involves three basic steps:

STEPS IN FORECASTING
1. Identify a trend in the political experience of one or more political units.
2. Project alternative future events in the political experiences of one or more political units.
3. Determine the likelihood of alternative events.

These three steps are those you have used before in identifying the alternative futures of the UN General Assembly and your own school. In the following paragraphs you will think about a group with which you are familiar and identify the likely alternative future of that group.

First, you need to think about a group with which you are familiar. Choose a group where you are an actor and you might be

able to influence the future of the group. Describe that group below. Be sure that in your description you identify the major actors, resources and activities of the group.

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

What is the trend that you can identify in the political experiences of this group? Is it tending to become more elite or more participant? Try to identify the trend and to identify major factors involved in producing the political experience which you see. State your trend as a generalization about the political group and what is happening to it.

_____

_____

_____

What do you think are possible future events that would influence the direction in which this political group takes? Project at least three different alternative futures and the events that might produce changes in the group that you have chosen, so that it moves in a different direction over time. What would make the group more elite? What would make the group more participant? How might it be more coalitional or bureaucratic? Remember that groups can move in the

same direction, therefore remaining the same. They can move in a very different direction, or they might move in more than one direction simultaneously. State the possible alternative political systems and how events might influence the group you have chosen to remain the same, reverse its trend, or move in different directions at the same time below:

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

You will remember that in determining the likelihood of alternative futures, you combine two things. You first think about the probabilities for any one of the alternative futures happening. You give reasons for why you think one future is more likely or more probable than another. Another thing which you determine is your preference for what you think is the best of the alternatives. The combination of the probabilities and what you think is best produces your choice about which alternative you think is most likely. In the spaces below, identify the probabilities for the group attaining any of the alternative futures which you have listed previously and which alternative future you prefer. Be sure to state reasons for your projection.

By now you have thoroughly studied a group in which you feel you might act. The question is: what kinds of moves can you make in acting to produce an alternative future which you desire or think is likely? By learning a few more steps in analyzing alternative futures, you can plan how you might act or anyone might act to produce the alternative future which you desire. There are two things that are important in thinking about how a preferable alternative future might be aided. One is that you need to know what factors will affect the direction that a political system takes. In other words, if you have an elite political system and you have projected that the system maybe becoming more participant and you want to produce that effect through your own political actions, you must determine what major factors might produce a participant system. Does the decision rule need to be changed? Might participation be increased in order to aid the system in becoming more participant? Both resources and activities can effect how a system changes over time. You want to list what you think are the most important factors (resources or activities) which might produce the alternative future which you

desire or think is most likely.

Think about the group that you have just identified. Think about the decision-making and communication, status and wealth patterns in the group. Which of these factors might be most important in producing the alternative future which you desire? List these factors below and give reasons for why you think they might be important in producing the alternative future which you desire.

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

A second thing is important in considering how you might take steps in planning for and helping to aid alternative futures to come about. It is not enough to know the factors that would influence an alternative future. You must act in some way. Acting depends on <u>determining a sequence of steps or a sequence of activities that you might carry out</u>. By sequence we mean "ordered steps in a process." In other words, if you were to try to create an elite system from one that was moving in that general direction from a coalitional system type, you might want first to consolidate your leadership, to make sure that there were three or four selected leaders who were doing most of the work and getting things done well. In this way

they would gain group respect and the system could more easily move in an elite direction. After you had done that, you might want to establish a communication system through which the leaders consistently communicated to the followers and communication was discouraged from the followers to the leaders. In this way you would begin to organize a top-down communication network. This sequence of moves and others would help you to see how, in an ordered way, you might begin to make moves toward a new political system type.

Sequencing, or the ordered steps toward an alternative future, is influenced by at least three things. Sequencing is influenced by TIME. You must consider how much time each activity will take. For example, if you want to create an elite system and you only have twenty-four hours in which to do it, you might want to consider those activities which can be done within that space of time. Regardless, you must consider the timing of activities in developing your sequence. How long will each step take? Can one step be started while another step is going on? This is a major question in planning any activities which promote alternative futures.

Another thing to consider in sequencing activities is the RESOURCES that are available to you in order to get things done. If you have a great many resources, you may be able to do many activities simultaneously. If you have very few resources, you should plan your moves accordingly and in a much slower fashion. An estimate of your resources, in terms of people and things, is important to determine how you moved to create a new alternative future for any political group.

The third thing which is important in sequencing is the consideration of contingencies. By "contingencies" we mean factors that may enter into

the situation that could not have been anticipated. You may find that people become busy with something else and cannot donate their time to your cause. You need then to have backup where other people can take over for them. You may find that resources you want to have have been spent and you cannot get more. Again, you need backup plans. The kind of a backup is important, or your scheme will fail in the middle of the sequence of moves you are making.

Each of these things--time, resources and contingencies--are important to consider in making any sequence moves toward planning an alternative future. Think about the group that you have just identified and a sequence of moves you might make in order to create an alternative future which you desire. List the sequence of steps below and demonstrate how you have considered timing, resources and contingencies in the sequence of steps that you are planning.

1. _____

_____

2. _____

_____

3. _____

_____

4. _____

_____

There is a final move to make that is important here in planning alternative futures. That is the consideration of the moral and ethical issues behind acting in various ways. Let's take an example of the activities of a pep club. Let's suppose that Susan wants to make the pep club an elite political system in the future. She feels that it is important to get an organization which runs effectively. The organization at present is not efficient or effective. It also has some tendencies which will make it easily become an elite system. All Susan has to do is make certain moves and consolidate leadership and she thinks it will work. The final question is: are moves she is making morally and ethically correct? Are they moves that she can stand behind as decisions? Clearly, Susan is faced with a dilemma. She wants the organization to be more effective, yet she does not want to take away anyones' rights to participate in the group and in the decision-making of the group. She must decide whether she thinks it is ethically supportable to move the group in a direction of an elite system and take away the decision-making power of some of the members. She might decide that it is ethically right, because the organization needs to work. It can't work unless some leadership is exercised. On the other hand, she might decide that taking away some peoples' rights to participate in decisions is fundamentally unethical. Everyone should have the right to participate fully in a group. Which ever way she decides, she will either make some different moves in the sequence of steps she has outlined or decide to go with the scheme as she has planned it. The consideration of such a moral an ethical issues is important in the creation of any list of steps in order to aid or support a

new alternative future.

Consider the sequence of steps that you have just created. Do you think that each and every one of the steps is morally or ethically defensible? State the arguments for and against the steps you have chosen below. Then talk with at least one other person about the issues behind the steps you have chosen. Make your decision and substitute in new steps, if necessary, so that you have a sequence of steps which you think is morally defensible.

List the moral dilemmas involved in your original sequence of steps below.

What steps would you change in order to make them more morally defensible?

How have other people influenced your position on these moral issues?

_____

_____

_____

Do you feel satisfied in the "rightness" of the plans you have made?

_____

_____

_____

Save your answers to these questions for class discussion. Also be sure that the sequence of steps you have planned is feasible, for you will be acting on these plans in the next activity in this part.

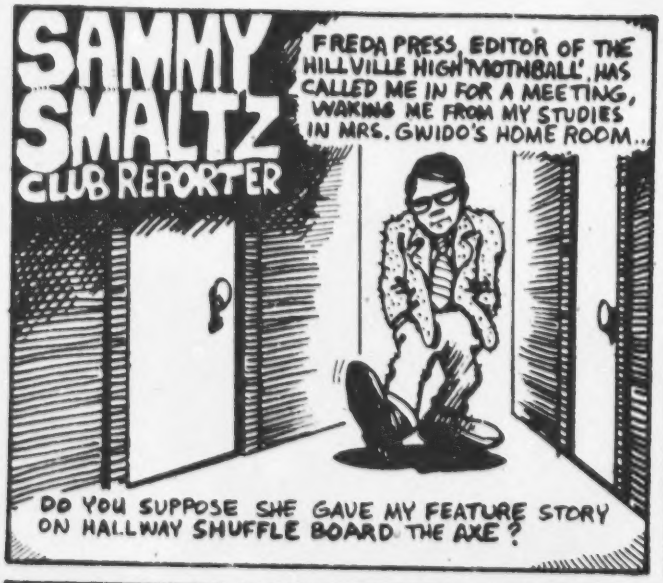
ACTIVITY F-2: ACTING TO PROMOTE ALTERNATIVE FUTURES

At least two major participation skills are involved in aiding in achieving an alternative future that you desire. Look at the sequence of steps that you have identified in attaining the alternative future. One important skill involved in attaining a future is taking an organizer role. You may not necessarily need to promote a group decision in all cases. You may want to organize people and tasks in order to get a job done. For example, in forming a Science Club, the group may not need to decide that it will have a Post-Game party, but you will need to organize the people in the tasks in order to get the party planned and carried out. If this is essential to your strategy of moving the Science Club to an elite or other form of organization, then you will need to take an effective organizer role. You have learned this skill in Part E.

Another important skill is group decision-making. Often an alternative future is promoted by getting the group to decide on certain matters. The group might decide that it wanted an alternative future that you desire. It also might decide on some particular decisions that would help you in your effort to achieve an alternative future. For example, a group might decide to do certain activities. It might decide to organize together to form a card section of the Pep Club. This would enable you to demonstrate the need for leadership and organization in the group. This secondary decision helps you to promote your goal. If you are ineffective in getting a group to make a decision, you may not be able to achieve this particular step in the sequence of steps you need to gain the alternative future

you desire. Therefore, promoting group decision-making is an important skill to learn in planning alternative futures.

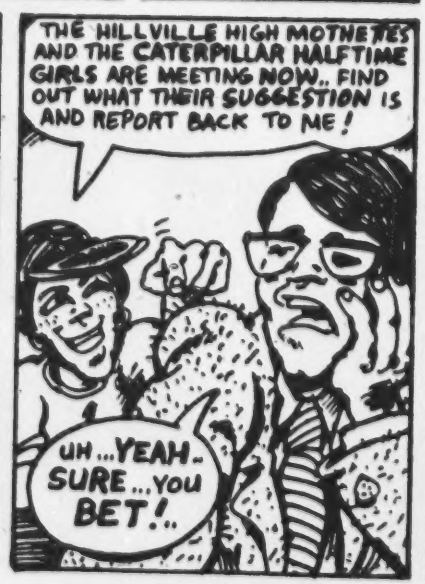
Decision-making skills and effective organizer roles are both types of activities which are important in this lesson. Let us look now at the skill of decision-making. We have said that decision-making is key in some strategies to promote alternative futures. Basically, political decisions are made in groups. The following cartoon demonstrates four groups, making four different decisions in a fictional school. Read the cartoon and determine what four types of systems are illustrated by the groups in the cartoon. Then determine what decision rules are operating in the group. Finally, look carefully at the strategies and tactics that are used by various people in the groups in order to get decisions made. Try to list those strategies after you have read the cartoon.


SAMMY SMALTZ
CLUB REPORTER
FREDA PRESS, EDITOR OF THE HILLVILLE HIGH 'MOTHBALL', HAS CALLED ME IN FOR A MEETING, WAKING ME FROM MY STUDIES IN MRS. GWIDO'S HOME ROOM..
DO YOU SUPPOSE SHE GAVE MY FEATURE STORY ON HALLWAY SHUFFLE BOARD THE AXE?

COME ON IN!
NOK NOK

YOU WANNA SEE ME?
AH.. SAMMY!.. SORRY TO WAKE YOU! ANYWAY... THE SCHOOL MADE A RECORD PROFIT FROM THE VENDING MACHINES THIS YEAR... OVER 600 DOLLARS!!!

(YAWN).. THAT'S GREAT! WHAT'S GONNA HAPPEN WITH THE MONEY?
THAT'S OUR BIG STORY, SAMMY.. EVERY ORGANIZED GROUP IN SCHOOL GETS TO TURN IN ONE SUGGESTION! WHAT HAPPENS AFTER THAT IS ANYBODY'S GUESS... I WANT YOU TO ATTEND THEIR MEETINGS AND FIND OUT WHAT THEY'RE GONNA DO!


THE HILLVILLE HIGH MOTHETTES AND THE CATERPILLAR HALFTIME GIRLS ARE MEETING NOW.. FIND OUT WHAT THEIR SUGGESTION IS AND REPORT BACK TO ME!
UH... YEAH.. SURE... YOU BET!..

THE MEETING WAS ALREADY IN PROGRESS WHEN I GOT THERE... THE MOTHETTE CHEERLEADERS WERE RUNNING THE SHOW.. KIND OF OVERRIDING THE CATERPILLAR HALFTIME GIRLS.. WANDA MAE TURPIN WAS IN THE MIDDLE OF THINGS... SHE'S HEAD OF THE MOTHETTES AND ENGAGED TO KIRK CONCRETE, CAPTAIN OF THE FOOTBALL TEAM...

OKAY GANG.. WE WANT TO MAKE OUR DECISION TODAY ON WHAT TO DO WITH ALL THAT MONEY! NOW THIS IS GOING TO BE A GROUP DECISION, OF COURSE.. CAUSE WE DO THINGS DEMOCRATICALLY, RIGHT? O.K., LET'S HEAR FROM THE CATERPILLARS FIRST! ... SUZANNE?...
WANDA MAE.. HOW 'BOUT RENTING ONE OF THOSE SUPER BUSES FOR NEXT FALL SO ALL OF US CAN RIDE TO AWAY GAMES IN AIR CONDITIONED COMFORT... THEY EVEN HAVE JOHNS ON THEM..!?!?
HEY.. WANDA MAE!?... WHY DON'T WE GET RID OF THESE CRUMMY ARMY SURPLUS LEATHER PONCHOS?!.. WE COULD GET SOME NEW SIMULATED ANGEL-HAIR PONCHOS THAT WOULD KEEP US WARM ON THOSE COLD OCTOBER NIGHTS AT HALFTIME !!
HEY! WANDA! HOW 'BOUT CO-ORDINATED TENNIS SHOES, WE COULD....
THAT'S ENOUGH CATERPILLARS.. NOW LET'S HEAR FROM THE MOTHETTES..
SAY WANDA MAE... KIRK SAID OUR POM-POMS LOOKED JUST TERRIBLE THE OTHER NIGHT!
HE DID?
YEAH!.. WE ALL AGREE WITH YOU THAT WE NEED NEW PLASTIC POM-POMS! WHAT WOULD KIRK THINK IF WE PLAYED HALFTIME WITH SOGGY POM-POMS?
YEAH!.. WE'RE SUPPOSED TO BE FASHION LEADERS!

HEY!.. WHAT ABOUT US CATERPILLARS?.. THE BUS WOULD BE FOR ALL OF US!!...
RIGHT! AND THE PONCHOS TOO!!
COME ON, WANDA MAE.. THEY CAN DYE THEIR TENNIS SHOES AND PATCH-UP THOSE OLD LEATHER PONCHOS... BESIDES, KIRK SAID PLASTIC POM-POMS WOULD REALLY BE THE THING THIS YEAR!
HE DID?
HEY! WANDA MAE.. I'M GOING TO BE TRYING OUT FOR MOTHETTES NEXT SEMESTER...
WELL ANNIE, WOULDN'T YOU RATHER HAVE A NICE DAY-GLO POM-POM THEN?
SURE! BUT I'D FEEL FUNNY LOOKING SO GLAMOROUS AS A MOTHETTE WHEN THE CATERPILLARS WERE DRAGGING THOSE MOLDY PONCHOS ALL OVER THE FIELD!... WITH NEW PONCHOS, WE'D ALL LOOK GREAT-AND, WANDA MAE, KIRK WOULD BE PLEASED WITH YOU IF YOU CAME UP WITH A HALFTIME SHOW WITH EVERYONE IN FUZZY PONCHOS!
HMMMM.. WELL, IT LOOKS LIKE WE ALL AGREE ON A DECISION!
HUH? WHAT DECISION?
DECISION??
IT DOES?
HAH?
I THINK WE SHOULD ALL BACK THE NEW PONCHOS!
WHAT?.. BUT THE POM-POMS?
THE BUS!
THE SHOES
BUT.. I THOUGHT WE ALL AGREED THAT THE FUZZY, ANGEL-HAIR PONCHOS WERE BEST?
RIGHT! KIRK WILL LOVE YOU FOR THINKING IN THE INTEREST OF ALL OF US!
O.K! SINCE EVERYONE WANTS PONCHOS, I'LL TURN IN THAT SUGGESTION TO THE PRINCIPAL!
FUZZY

AND SO... WITH TAPE RECORDER IN HAND, I MAKE MY WAY BACK TO THE MOTHBALL OFFICE, LEAVING THE MEETING IN UTTER CONFUSION...
HASSLE
HASSLE
SOOO... THEY DECIDED THEY WANT FUZZY PONCHOS!
I GUESS THAT'S WHAT THEY ALL WANTED...
HARDLY... WANDA MAE RUNS THAT GROUP... AND IT SOUNDS LIKE ANNIE SMITH DID A CON-JOB ON HER...
WWIRRRR
..ANYWAY... THE HEALTH CLUB IS MEETING IN THE GYM IN HALF AN HOUR TO DISCUSS THEIR SUGGESTIONS.. SEE IF YOU CAN COME UP WITH ANYTHING REVELANT!
LATER.. AT THE GYM... JOCK MAHOONEY WAS EXPOUNDING...
PRUNES ARE A NATURAL..
WE NEED PRUNES IN THE VENDING MACHINES!
BLOOD PRESSURE CHECK-POINTS IN THE LIBRARY!
BARBELLS IN THE RESTROOMS!
POSTURE TRUSSES ON THE BUSES...
WAIT A MINUTE.. BEFORE WE GET OFF ON TOO MANY TANGENTS, LET'S SEE WHAT OUR MAIN GOALS ARE.. WE USUALLY ALL AGREE EVENTUALLY, BECAUSE WE ALL WANT THE SAME THINGS, RIGHT?
BETTER HEALTH HABITS, HUH!?

I THINK THE VENDING MACHINE COMPANY WILL GIVE US A VERY GOOD SELECTION OF PRUNE AND SOYBEAN CHIPS FOR NO EXTRA CHARGE!
ACTUALLY, THE POSTURE TRUSSES, SOUND PRETTY GOOD!
YEAH, BUT IF WE CAN GET EXERCISE STRAPS INSTALLED ON THE BUSES, POSTURE WOULD AUTOMATICALLY BE IMPROVED!
BUT WHAT ABOUT HIGH BLOOD PRESSURE PROBLEMS?
IF YOU GET LOTS OF EXERCISE, YOU WON'T GET HIGH BLOOD PRESSURE!
HEY! I BET WE COULD GET A BLOOD-PRESSURE MACHINE FROM A LOCAL PHYSICIAN... FOR FREE!
ACTUALLY, I THINK THE BUS BIT IS BEST!

I THINK WE CAN WORK SOMETHING OUT TO GET ALL OUR IDEAS WORKING, BUT IF WE CAN GET SOMETHING FOR FREE, LET'S GO WITH WHAT WE KNOW WE'LL HAVE TO PAY FOR - AND WHAT WILL DO THE MOST GOOD FOR THE MOST STUDENTS!
SO.. IT LOOKS LIKE WE CAN GET EVERYTHING BUT EXERCISE STRAPS FOR FREE!
WE ALL AGREE THEN THE BEST SUGGESTION IS TO INSTALL EXERCISE STRAPS ON THE SCHOOL BUSES.. RIGHT?
RIGHT!
EXERCISE STRAPS ON THE SCHOOL BUSES. WOW! EVERYONE OF THEM AGREED ON IT, TOO!
THE HEALTH CLUB MEMBERS ARE ONE OF THE FEW GROUPS THAT CAN MAKE DECISIONS AS ONE!

HOWEVER, THE NEXT GROUP IS NOTHING AT ALL LIKE THEM... I WANT YOU TO TAPE THE HILLVILLE AGRICULTURE CLUB..
WOW! THEY NEVER AGREE ON ANYTHING!
YEAH! PROBABLY THEY'LL END UP IN ONE BIG HASSLE..EVERYONE HAS HIS OWN IDEA AND DOESN'T BUDGE AN INCH! I'M CURIOUS TO SEE HOW THEY WORK IT OUT!
LATER..AT THE HILLVILLE AGRICULTURE CLUB...
I THINK WE SHOULD TAKE THE MONEY AND BUY HYBRID PEANUTS!
HOW 'BOUT A BARN FRESHNER?
HOW 'BOUT A BROCOLLI BENDER?
I GOT A GOOD DEAL ON A USED '53 FORD TRACTOR!
I GOT A GOOD DEAL ON A USED HOLSTEIN!
HEY FELLAS, HEY!

HOW 'BOUT BLUE-GREEN BEANS?
HOW 'BOUT LASER BEANS?
HOW 'BOUT IMPORTING BANANA PLANTS?
HEY FELLAS! HEY!
WE SHOULD USE THE MONEY TO TRANSPLANT GIANT RUTABAGAS. BUT EVERYONE ELSE HAS HIS OWN IDEA...HMMM...MAYBE I CAN GET A FEW OF THE OTHERS TO SEE THINGS MY WAY....
LASER BEANS!
GEE LARRY..IF WE WERE TO TRANSPLANT GIANT RUTABAGAS, I'D BE TOO BUSY TO USE THESE TWO TICKETS TO THE MOVIES FRIDAY NIGHT!...
GEE MOOSE! RUTABAGAS SOUND GREAT!
GEE MIKE..IF WE WERE TO TRANSPLANT GIANT RUTABAGAS, I'D BE TOO BUSY TO USE MY '63 T-BIRD WITH IT'S 493 CUSTOM HEMI THIS SUNDAY!
GEE MOOSE! GIANT RUTABAGAS!

GEE HANK, IF WE...
WAIT A MINUTE MOOSE... I KNOW YOU'RE PUSHING FOR RUTABAGAS AND I DON'T BUY IT... I'M IN FAVOR OF GETTING A TRUCKLOAD OF HYBRID PEANUTS AND...
NOW LISTEN HANK! THERE ARE MANY ADVANTAGES.. THEY'RE CHEAPER THAN POTATOES.. FRENCH-FRIED RUTABAGAS ARE GREAT... THEY'RE PACKED WITH VITAMINS.. LOW IN CALORIES AND OUR YEAR-END RESIDUALS ON A GOOD BUMPER CROP CAN GIVE US ENOUGH MONEY TO BUY A BOX CAR OF PEANUTS AND MAKE A DOWN PAYMENT ON A GOOD PICK-UP FOR THE CLUBS USE!
GEE MOOSE... SOUNDS FINE WITH ME!
WELL FELLOW MEMBERS... THERE'S FOUR OF US HERE THAT HAVE DECIDED TO GO FOR GIANT RUTABAGAS! NOW: IF YOU CAN GET TOGETHER AND AGREE ON ONE THING YOU LIKE, WE'LL GO ALONG WITH YOU.. HOWEVER.. IF YOU CAN'T...
BARN FRESHNER!
BROCOLLI BENDER!
LASER BEANS!
FORD TRACTOR!
BANANAS!
ETC.
ETC.
ETC.
RUTA-BAGAS!
..AND SO, THE REST OF THE GROUP COULDN'T AGREE ON ANYTHING.. AND THOUGH THE RUTABAGA PEOPLE DIDN'T HAVE A MAJORITY, THEY WORK OUT BECAUSE THEY HAD A STRONGER BARGAINING POSITION!
MEANING MORE OF THEM THAN ANY OTHER FACTION.. HEY! THERE'S ONE MORE GROUP TO GET.. YOU'RE LATE NOW.. THE ART CLUB IS MEETING OVER IN ROOM 315...
DWIRRR
MEANWHILE... AT THE ART CLUB...
LOOK YOU GUYS.. WE'VE BEEN ARGUING FOR AN HOUR NOW.. AND A LOT OF US THINK WE SHOULD SPEND THE MONEY ON A PLAY SERIES.. SO HOW ABOUT YOU GUYS GIVIN' US A MAJORITY?.. YOU KNOW, SHOW A LITTLE SOLIDARITY!
YEAH!
AH, COME OFF IT, PHIL! YOU THEATRE PEOPLE ALWAYS GET YOUR WAY!
LISTEN! WE'VE GOT ENOUGH PEOPLE HERE FOR A MAJORITY TO DO SOMETHING REALLY NEAT! .. IF WE CAN ONLY GET TOGETHER AND AGREE ON SOMETHING! I DON'T FEEL LIKE SITTING THROUGH ANY MORE DULL STAGE SHOWS!.. YOU FOLKS GOT ANY IDEAS?
HOW ABOUT A FILM SERIES?
A DANCE SERIES?
VISITING ARTIST?

WELL.. IF YOU GUYS CAN'T COME UP WITH ANY BETTER IDEAS, WE'RE GOING TO TAKE A PLURALITY VOTE... MEANING IT LOOKS LIKE A NICE SERIES OF FANCY PLAYS!
HA-HA.. WE COULD STAGE AN ART HAPPENING AND TIE-DYE THAT DIPPY SCHOOL REPORTER SAMMY SMALTZ! HA-HA!
CAN'T WE AGREE ON ANYTHING?
NOPE.
IMPOSSIBLE!
WHAT?..
HUH?
HMM.. HMM.. HMM.. HMM..
(PUFF-PUFF).. EXCUSE ME, GANG.. JUST WANNA DO SOME RECORDING.. GO AHEAD WITH WHAT-EVER YOU WERE DOING!
ALL IN FAVOR OF HOWIE'S RESOLUTION SAY "AYE!"
AYE!
AYE!
AYE!
AYE!
MOTION CARRIED! SORRY PHIL... MAJORITY WINS! REMEMBER?
BUT..
HEY, WAIT! WHAT'S GOING ON? STOP!
WHAT HAPPENED TO YOU!?
MAJORITY RULE MADE ME A FOOL!.. YOU GOT ANY OPENINGS IN CLASSIFIED ADS?

Discussion Questions

1. What groups represent different system types in the cartoon?

2. What decision rules are used in each group in the cartoon?

3. What tactics are used by people in the groups in order to get their way in the decisions that are made?

Dialogue Summary: Decision-Making Activities

Below is a dialogue which will serve as a base for talking about different decision-making activities. Under different types of decision rules, different types of political activities are appropriate for achieving a goal. The following dialogue illustrates different decision-making activities which are appropriate for different decision rules.

As people in class read various parts of the dialogue, try to determine what activities are most useful in different decision-making situations illustrated by the groups making decisions at Hillville High.

Mr. Moss's "Comparing Political Experiences" class is to discuss decision-making activities. The actors in the dialogue are:

Mr. Moss	social studies teacher
Vera Chris Lee Florence Juanita Carl	students in a CPE class

Mr. Moss: "People try to do many activities in order to try to reach their goals in decision-making. Vera, can you figure out some actions that Annie Smith took to reach her goal?"

Vera: "Her goals was new ponchos...and since she realized she was in a group with ELITE RULE, she zeroed in on the elite...namely, Wanda Mae. In fact, most of the members of the group did. You hardly noticed anybody directing their ideas to any other members."

Mr. Moss: "That's a very effective action to take in an ELITE RULE situation. Convince the elite and ignore the rest of the group. Who thinks they can describe a little different kind of strategy?"

Chris: "Both Annie and that Mothette who wanted plastic pom-poms made it sound like Kirk Concrete thought their ideas were terrific. Everybody knows Kirk has a lot of influence on Wanda Mae. That was a good strategy, wasn't it, Mr. Moss?"

Mr. Moss: "Yes, it was. Convince someone very close to the decision-maker that your position is best. Sometimes this person is another member of the group, sometimes, as in the case of Kirk, it can be a person who is not a member of the group."

Lee: "Hey, Mr. Moss...Annie's a Catepillar and one time she made it sound like she was going to be a Mothette. Is that strategy?"

Mr. Moss: "No, Lee, that's metamorphosis."

Florence: "BOOO! We don't have Biology until tomorrow, Mr. Moss!"

Mr. Moss: "Seriously, that was an example of an effective action. The Mothettes have more pull with Wanda Mae than the Caterpillars, so Annie came as close as she could to adopting another effective strategy for an ELITE RULE situation...join the elite that runs the group."

Chris: "Wow, Mr. Moss...what a great headline that would make!"

CATERPILLAR WORMS WAY INTO MOTHETTES

Juanita: "All this bug talk is making me sick, Mr. Moss. Let's talk about the Health Club so I'll feel better.

Mr. Moss: "All right, Juanita...what kind of decision rule was in effect in the Health Club?"

Juanita: "CONSENSUS! And in that case, you definitely don't want to ignore the membership because everybody counts."

Vera: "And when you need support from everybody, what are some strategies that come to mind?"

Lee: "Well, the Health Club members never really dumped on each other's suggestions...it seems they tried to combine ideas, and suggest ways that other suggestions could be worked out by other means."

Mr. Moss: "So, in a CONSENSUS RULE group, we can say that it's wise to act in ways which allow compromise on a position which is agreeable to everyone. We might also say effective action is being flexible, taking other member's views into account."

Carl: "The guy who wanted health foods in the vending machines finally decided to go along with the exercise straps on the buses...and so did the guy who was pushing the blood-pressure set-ups. But everything went so smoothly that it's hard to figure out how the exercise freaks convinced them to go along with their position."

Mr. Moss: "Another good action in a CONSENSUS RULE situation is to trade something someone else wants for their support of your position. The exercise buffs did a little subtle trading when they convinced those two fellows that they could get what they wanted if they supported the exercise straps."

Florence: "Oh...I get it. They said they'd make a deal with the vending machine companies to get prunes and stuff, and that they'd try to get a free blood-pressure set-up from a local doctor...and that's how they got more support for their exercise straps!"

Chris: "Hey, Mr. Moss, I'm a member of the Health Club. Know what our motto is? Sound body...sound mind."

Mr. Moss: "Hmmm. Take your pick?"

Chris: "Come on, Mr. Moss...it's not a choice! It means if your body's in good shape, your mind will be, too."

Mr. Moss: "Well, in that case, Chris, we'll let you exercise your mind by identifying some actions that work in PLURALITY RULE."

Chris: "Uhhh...oh, yeah...the Agriculture Club had PLURALITY RULE, and Moose managed to get more support for his rutabagas than anybody else. So I guess Moose acted effectively."

Juanita: "Hey, Mr. Moss...Moose was actually bribing people with movie tickets and his car..."

Mr. Moss: "Well, essentially, Moose knew that in a PLURALITY RULE situation, it's good to woo people into your camp by giving them something they want which is not related to the issues before the group."

Carl: "But even though that strategy worked on a couple of members, it didn't work on Hank who was pushing hybrid peanuts. Moose had to talk his way into getting his support."

Mr. Moss: "And that's another good action to get more support for your cause. Actively voice the important gains to be made for your supporters compared to supporters of other positions."

Vera: "You know, Mr. Moss, it seemed like every member of the Ag Club was sold on his own idea. How did Moose manage to get even three members to support his rutabagas?

Mr. Moss: "By using the two actions we just mentioned, Vera, and by using a good beginning move. Find out how many positions there are in the group, then concentrate on a few key people to influence, gaining enough support to carry a plurality."

Lee: "If I were a Health Club member, I'd have used the actions we just talked about to defeat rutabagas. They taste terrible."

Carl: "Why don't you tell Moose?"

Chris: "I can see it now...there I am, sneaking a little talk with gorgeous Wanda Mae...telling her how terrible rutabagas taste, and up walks Kirk Concrete and Moose. It would definitely call for effective action, wouldn't it, Mr. Moss?"

Mr. Moss: "Glad to see you've got your mind on class discussion. Now, let's look at strategies in MAJORITY RULE decision-making."

Vera: "I would think you could use the same actions that would in a plurality situation...but you need to get more support. Phil and his theater people already had a plurality...he should have worked a little harder to get a majority."

Lee: "He thought he could switch the decision rules, so he blew it."

Mr. Moss: "What could Phil have done to increase the number of supporters so that he would have a majority of the group behind his suggestion?"

Florence: "He could've probably persuaded the kids who wanted a visiting artist to go along with him. After all, an actor is an artist, and they could probably agree that the idea of having somebody accomplished in the arts right here at school was one they had in common."

Mr. Moss: "That's an action that works in a MAJORITY RULE group. Try to influence those whose positions are closest to yours to support you."

Chris: "Some of the Art Club members would never go along with Phil, but he could have worked harder on some of the others. It seemed like he didn't size up the opposition very well."

Mr. Moss: "Aha! Your words can introduce an important activity to adopt in a MAJORITY RULE decision-making group, Chris... Size up the opposition and try to make your position have a broad enough appeal to capture the support of just over half of the group. Don't worry about those members who directly oppose you, but try to mediate your position and win the support of those who aren't completely at odds with your ideas."

Juanita: "Phil has a personality problem...that's why he couldn't get a majority, Mr. Moss."

Mr. Moss: "Getting other people to agree with you has an awful lot to do with personality, Juanita, but the important point I hope I've made in this class is that personality isn't enough. When you're a member of a school group, you have to know what the decision rule is for your group. Then, you can figure out actions that work for the particular decision rule governing that group. You need a good personality, but if it's directed at the wrong people, it won't be enough for you to reach your goals in that group."

Vera: "I see what you mean, Mr. Moss. Are we ready to study some more groups now that we know what to look for?"

Mr. Moss: "We'll be doing some role play exercises soon so that you can figure out how to take effective action when you are acting in a group."

Discussion Questions

1. Which decision-making activities seemed to be effective in each of the four groups illustrated in the cartoon?

2. Which activity do you think you might use in the strategy you have set up in the political group which you are familiar with?

In class you will be engaging in a role play exercise which will allow you to practice using various decision-making strategies in different types of groups. Your teacher will explain the role play. On the next few pages .... The next few pages contain a background information sheets and role profiles which you will need in order to play the role play exericse.

When you have finished the role play, your teacher will aid you in implementing some of your plans for influenceing groups and alternative futures in your school, community or work setting. You will spend the remaining few weeks attempting to carry out some of the plans that you have identified.

Background Information on the Tyler Steel Company

The Tyler Steel Company wanted to expand. The company produced auto parts and there was more demand than ever for parts. The company wanted to locate another plant in a small city outside of Maintown. Watertown was such a city. It was big enough to supply the industry with all of the housing and facilities that it needed, yet small enough to be out of the way from traditional commercial routes.

The Tyler Steel Company could not come to Watertown without the permission of the Watertown City Council. The Watertown City Council had been meeting for about two weeks and had been debating whether or not to allow the company to build on the outskirts of town. The council members were divided into several factions. There were some members who favored new jobs and new money which would come into the town. Others were in favor of the growth of the town and the ability to support more community services. However, still others felt that Watertown was a good size city now. They didn't want it to become any bigger and they didn't want the possible smog and pollution that an auto plant might bring into the city.

The city council would continue meeting until they came to a conclusion about the Tyler Steel Company issue. As time went on, people began to feel that it would be a long time before they made a decision.

Decision-Making
Role Profile: Pro

Role Profile: Mr./Ms. Williams

You are a member of the Watertown City Council. You think that the Tyler Steel Plant should be built in the city. You think that the plant will bring new jobs for people in the community and money into the community for community services. You are strongly in favor of building the steel plant. You realize that others are opposed and you want to use whatever tactics you can to get the council to come to a positive decision about building the steel plant.

* *

Decision-Making
Role Profile: Pro

Role Profile: Mr./Ms. Garcia

You are a member of the Watertown City Council. You are in favor of the Tyler Steel Company coming into Watertown. You think that the community needs to grow and new people will come to the community. You like this idea because it would bring new people and ideas into a city that otherwise could grow very stagnant. You especially like the idea of new money coming into the town so that more community services can be provided. The tax base of a new corporation would bring in necessary revenues to help parks, street repairs and other kinds of city services which you feel are important. You want to use whatever tactics you can to get the council to come to a positive decision about building the steel plant.

Decision-Making
Role Profile: Con

Role Profile: Mr./Ms. Black

You are a member of the Watertown City Council. You are opposed to the Tyler Steel Company moving into Watertown. You think that new industry will bring a growing population and a growing amount of city problems. You are opposed to the city encompassing more people, having more crime, and more problems with safety in the streets. You also don't think that there is enough housing in the city to support major corporations coming into the town. You want to use whatever tactics you can to get the council to veto the steel plant.

* *

Decision-Making
Role Profile: Con

Role Profile: Mr./Ms. Kim

You are a member of the Watertown City Council. You are opposed to the Tyler Steel Company coming into Watertown. You believe that the company will bring smog and pollution problems to a city that has been largely pollution-free. You are upset by the idea that the quality of life in Watertown might be lowered because of new industry and new pollution problems. You want to use whatever tactics you can to get the city council to veto the steel plant.

Role Profile: Mr./Ms. Johnson

You are a member of the Watertown City Council. You do not have a clear position on the issue of the moving of the Tyler Steel Company into Watertown. You think that the creation of new jobs is a good idea. Many people in Watertown are looking for work and they need the new jobs the industry will bring. You also think, however, that the city has grown about as much as it should grow. If it gets any bigger it will have many of the problems of the major cities that surround Watertown. You are also concerned about the possible pollution that will arise as a result of the steel company's move. You would like to see a well-reasoned decision made and you want to use whatever tactics you can to see such a decision.

* *

Decision-Making
Role Profile: Don't Know

Role Profile: Mr./Ms. Eastman

You are a member of the Watertown City Council. You do not have a well-defined position on the issue of Tyler Steel Company coming into Watertown. You think that new community services that would be increased by the additional tax base is a good idea. There are many things that you would like to see done in Watertown that are impossible because of the financial base of the city. On the other hand, you do not want Watertown to become a very large city with a lot of large city problems. You like the city the way it is and want to improve the quality of life without substantial new growth in the number of people or the number of corporations in the town. You would like to see a well-reasoned decision made and you will want to use whatever tactics you can to see such a decision.